THEOLOGICAL TRANSLATION LIBRARY

MORRIS HARVEY COLLEGE
CHARLESTON, WEST VIRGINIA

ANDREW S. THOMAS
MEMORIAL LIBRARY

CALL NUMBER
270.1
W439a
v.2

ACCESSION
13468

Date Due

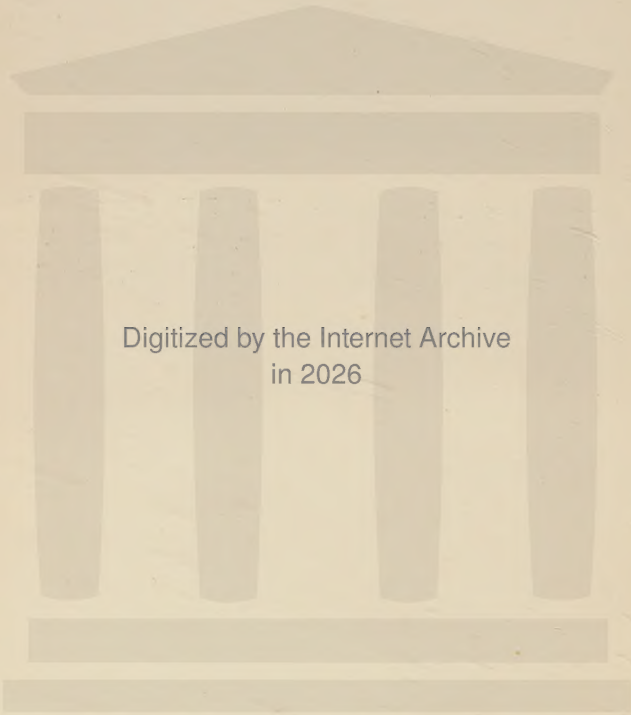
THEOLOGICAL TRANSLATION LIBRARY

EDITED BY THE REV. T. K. CHEYNE, M.A., D.D., ORIEL PROFESSOR OF INTERPRETATION, OXFORD; AND THE REV. A. B. BRUCE, D.D., PROFESSOR OF APOLOGETICS AND NEW TESTAMENT EXEGESIS, FREE CHURCH COLLEGE, GLASGOW.

Do not return to library.

VOL. V.

WEIZSÄCKER'S APOSTOLIC AGE. VOL. II.



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/apostolicageofch0000carl_r7i7

THE APOSTOLIC AGE

OF THE

CHRISTIAN CHURCH

BY

CARL VON WEIZSÄCKER

PROFESSOR OF CHURCH HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF TÜBINGEN

TRANSLATED FROM THE SECOND AND REVISED EDITION

BY

JAMES MILLAR, B.D.

VOL. II.

THIRD EDITION

LONDON:
WILLIAMS AND NORGATE
14 HENRIETTA STREET, COVENT GARDEN, W.C.
1912

13468

270.1
W45a
vol. 2

CONTENTS

BOOK IV

THE FARTHER DEVELOPMENT

CHAPTER I.—JERUSALEM. JUDAISM.

PAGE

§ 1. James and the Christus Party . . . 1
2. The Primitive Apostles . . . 8
3. Paul in Jerusalem 13
4. The last days of James. Emigration of the Christians 15
5. Thoughts of the Future . . . 18
6. Ebionitism. The Epistle of James . . 27

CHAPTER II.—JERUSALEM. THE EVANGELIC TRADITION.

§ 1. Origin of the Tradition 32
2. Collections of Sayings 38
3. The Discourses in Matthew . . . 46
4. The Discourses in Luke 56
5. The Narratives 63
6. Conclusion 69

CHAPTER III.—ROME. THE ROMAN CHURCH.

§ 1. Paul and Rome 72
2. Origin of the Church 77
3. Membership of the Church . . . 79
4. Judaism in Rome 99
5. The Letter to the Romans . . . 106

CHAPTER IV.—ROME. FORTUNES OF THE CHRISTIANS.

PAGE

§ 1. The Imprisonment of Paul . . 115
2. The Letter to the Philippians . . . 131
3. The Death of Paul 137
4. Nero's Persecution of the Christians . . 141
5. Peter 148
6. Epistle of Clement and Epistle to the Hebrews 155

CHAPTER V.—EPHESUS. JOHN.

§ 1. Reinstitution of the Church . . . 161
2. The Johannine Tradition . . . 166

CHAPTER VI.—EPHESUS. THE APOCALYPSE.

§ 1. Its Composition 173
2. The Date 180
3. The Beast 185
4. The Aim 194
5. Conditions 200

CHAPTER VII.—EPHESUS. JOHN'S GOSPEL.

§ 1. The Author 206
2. Relation to Judaism 214
3. The Doctrine of the Logos . . . 226

CHAPTER VIII.—EPHESUS. ALLIED COMPOSITIONS.

§ 1. Introductory 237
2. The Epistles of John 238
3. The Letters to the Ephesians and the Colossians 240

BOOK V

THE CHURCH

CHAPTER I.—THE MEETINGS OF THE CONGREATION.

SECTION I.—GENERAL VIEW.

§ 1. Nature of the Meeting 246
2. Two kinds of Meeting 249
3. Baptism 251

CHAPTER I.—THE MEETINGS OF THE CONGREGATION.—*Continued.*

SECTION II.—MEETING FOR THE WORD.

PAGE

§ 1. Order 254
2. Prayer 257
3. Instruction 262
4. Prophecy 266
5. The Speaking with Tongues . . . 271
6. The Lectionary 275

SECTION III.—THE MEETING FOR THE LORD'S SUPPER.

§ 1. The Memorial Celebration . . . 279
2. The Meaning 281
3. The Meal 283

SECTION IV.—LITURGICAL FORMULAS.

§ 1. Introductory 286
2. The Doxology 287
3. The Benediction 287
4. Amen 289
Section V. Conclusion 289

CHAPTER II.—THE CONSTITUTION.

SECTION I.—THE WHOLE CHURCH.

§ 1. The Offices 291
2. Legislation 303
3. The Unity of the Church . . . 307

SECTION II.—THE INDIVIDUAL CHURCHES.

§ 1. The Self-government of the Churches . . 309
2. Jerusalem 314
3. Pauline Communities 318

SECTION III.—THE FARTHER DEVELOPMENT.

§ 1. Presbyters and Bishops 326
2. Origin and Nature 331
3. The Office of Teacher 335

CHAPTER III.—ETHICS.

PAGE

Introductory 338

SECTION I.—JEWISH CHRISTIANITY. . . . 339

§ 1. Law and Gospel 340
2. The Kingdom of God 343
3. The Community 346
4. The Later Period 349

SECTION II.—PAUL AND GENTILE CHRISTIANITY.

§ 1. Judgment on Paganism 352
2. The Leading Principles 355
3. Christian Ethics 359
4. Moral Conditions 364
5. Attitude to the Outer World . . . 372
6. Order in the Communities . . . 379
7. Women and Marriage 384

SECTION III.—LATER GROWTHS.

§ 1. Pauline Tradition 391
2. Jewish Christian Influence . . 395

INDEXES—

Texts 399
Christian and other Writers 416
Proper Names and Subjects 417

BOOK IV

THE FARTHER DEVELOPMENTS

CHAPTER I

JERUSALEM. JUDAISM

§ 1. *James and the Christus-Party.*

THE last chapter of the history of the Jewish Christians and the Church in Jerusalem is still more obscure than its earlier period. We have practically no written sources originating from it. Among the books of the New Testament, one, the Epistle of James, bears the name that was then most important for that Church. But not only did the Ebionitic literature of after times regard it with distrust; the ancient Church was also long unable to resolve to recognise it, and we have no reason for differing from its judgment. The Acts turns its attention away from Jerusalem, after the agreement of the primitive apostles with Paul. It follows exclusively the missionary activity of the latter, and even in the passage where it apparently intends to indicate a visit to Jerusalem (xviii. 22), it does not name the city, without doubt because it had no authority for its suggestion, but was merely conjecturing. It is not until the visit actually made by the Apostle, his last, is introduced, that the city is again named (xix. 21, xx. 16, 22) as the goal of his plans. But the narrative of this visit itself (xxi. 15 ff.) does not by any means furnish an accurate or even a distinct view of the circumstances of the Church there. And from the moment of Paul's imprisonment through the hostility of the Jews, it disappears once more and finally from the book.

We are therefore led almost entirely to rely on indirect sources. To these belong certain portions of the Synoptic Gospels. From them we learn, at least, that the Christians of this period were conscious of being the poor, and in their poverty the divinely favoured section of their nation, and that they felt bitterly the oppression of the rich and powerful. The letters of Paul, however, occupy the first place as authorities. His experiences, his accounts of events, extend with all sorts of indications to Jerusalem; they reveal at least his relation to the primitive Church, and enable us, therefore, to make inferences as to the Church itself.

In addition to these, however, we have a few indisputable facts, attested from various quarters, and at any rate adapted to furnish the outlines of a historical view. The treaty of Jerusalem and the closely related events in Antioch form our starting point. With these is closely connected the fact that the leadership of the Church was then in the hands of James, the Lord's brother, and the whole of subsequent tradition affords us abundant grounds for supposing that he retained it in the following years. He was put to death by the Jews, A.D. 62. Not long previously Paul had implemented his promise, and brought the proceeds of a great collection taken among the Gentile Christians to Jerusalem, where he was made prisoner. Four years after James's death, *i.e.* in 66, on the outbreak of the war between the Jews and the Romans, the Church seceded from the nation and its enterprise —the Christians emigrated and sought a settlement in Pella.

The first fact that meets us here is that the secession of the Jewish Christians from Judaism was not voluntary. They only resolved to secede because they could not help themselves. Not even the cruel experience that befell them in James's execution had led them to do so. For this the perception, forced upon them by the war, of the absolute impossibility of any further alliance was necessary. The nature of their relations with the Jews in the decade preceding James's death can undoubtedly not be precisely stated. But serious disturbances are certainly out of the question, and we may presume that from the death of the elder James under

Agrippa I. to the death of James the Lord's brother, *i.e.* for nearly twenty years, no persecution took place at the hands of the Jews, that the Church was rather substantially at peace. This can be explained for the first years of the period by the restoration of the Roman rule, and the restraint presumably thereby laid upon hostile aims; then by a more favourable view on the part of the Jews, their hope that the Christians would take part with the nation against the Romans. Yet in the long run it is only intelligible on the supposition that the Christians by their own conduct contributed to preserve the good opinion of their neighbours, proving themselves to be zealous and genuine Jews. This leads us naturally to the sketch of James by Hegesippus in the second century, according to which he was a pattern of legal and Nazirite-ascetic piety, and never ceased praying that his people should be forgiven their sins, *i.e.* should be converted. This sketch must in its main features embrace that attitude of the Church to the nation which preserved peace to it.

This relation can be deduced from the attitude of the Jewish Christians to Gentile Christianity. The great concession, which was certainly granted to the apostle Paul, could hardly fail to result in a firmer adherence to their own position of fidelity to the law. But, besides, we have to remember that at least a considerable portion of the Church had not supported the concession, and had certainly afterwards not agreed to it. This party now naturally exerted their influence all the more strongly, and indeed used some degree of compulsion, in the same direction. Thus even the events in Antioch are explained. As regards the further course of events, however, we must not forget, to begin with, that we have to consider, not merely the principles of Peter on the one hand, and of James on the other, but that those zealots for the law and against Gentile Christianity without law, formed, side by side with them, an independent party, which hardly felt itself bound by what had taken place.

Now it is here that the experiences of Paul in his mission become also a source of information for the way in which things

shaped themselves in Jerusalem itself. We see that his pronounced opponents indemnified themselves in their own fashion for their impotence at the time of the agreement. They had then failed to prevent the recognition of Paul's mission to the Gentiles. They now sought to destroy this mission itself, and to deprive the Apostle of its fruits. They did not, however, succeed even now in getting the Church of Jerusalem to break the alliance that had been formed, or in gaining its leaders over to their side. We have a striking proof of this, so far at least as regards Peter, in the fact that they were unable to appropriate his name, but had rather to form an additional party under another name. For this alone explains the existence of two sections of Jewish Christians in Corinth, the one of Cephas, and the other of Christ. Their relation to James is not so clear. Yet we are entitled at all events to assume that James would have been named as the head and the authority for the party, if it had really been able to appeal to him in support of its intentions and attitude.

We can follow the traces of the party in the sphere of the Pauline mission from Galatia to Corinth, then in Rome, and finally in Macedonia. Apart from Rome, where its relative position assumed a peculiar form, its members everywhere intruded into the field already occupied by another. It was in no case a question of the collateral working and encounter of two different parallel missions; but everywhere the attempt was made to supplant Paul, and to secure possession of the Churches founded by him. This procedure was not accidental or occasional; it was based on a principle. Paul contrasts it most emphatically with his own principle, not to seek renown where another had wrought, not to build on another man's foundations, but only to preach where the name of Christ had not yet penetrated (2 Cor. x. 15, Rom., xv. 20).

The purposes and teaching of his opponents are perfectly obvious from Paul's arguments. Whether they openly announced their ultimate demand, or prepared the way for it by undermining the authority of the Apostle to the Gentiles, their goal was always

the same. The Gentile Christians were to become Jews: they were to submit to the law (Gal. iv. 21). Only the law, they said, and its observance opened up the path to the actual possession of salvation and of the marvellous gifts which were hoped for from the Gospel (Gal. iii. 5). The glory which had been associated with the revelation of the law, and which accompanied its ministry, was dazzlingly described (2 Cor. iii. 7). Woe to him who exalted himself above the Holy Scripture which contained this law (1 Cor. iv. 6). Only he who possessed the law, and could call himself a Jew, had a sure ground of confidence (Rom. ii. 17). Abraham was already their great type of the way of the law as a way of works (Rom. iv.).

For the rest, it was no scrupulous observance of the commandments that these zealots desired from the Gentile Christians; their bearing does not give us the impression that they set up their demands for conscience' sake. They merely required, in the first place, the submission which was consummated by circumcision. Paul first represented to the infatuated members of the Galatian Church the dreadful gravity of the obligations involved in this submission. He who accepted circumcision made himself responsible for the equal observance of the whole law, of every single command in it, and submitted himself to a judgment based upon this obligation (Gal. v. 2 ff.). Of this his opponents had said little. They only aimed at seducing the members of his Church from him; and their representations were prepared for that purpose (Gal. iv. 17). Therefore Paul could also at once appeal to the fact that those who accepted circumcision certainly did not keep the law. It had changed nothing for them. Nor was any change demanded. Their masters were content with the triumph of the outward gain (Gal. vi. 13).

In support of their recommendation of the law, however, the men of this party appealed in the last resort to none other than Christ Himself. For they did not merely seek to make the heathens Jews, but Jews who believed in the Messiah. From this alone we can understand how their adherents in Corinth

assumed the name of Christ's followers on the ground of their leaders' contentions. The cause represented by the law was recommended, because its adoption was the true doctrine of Jesus. To prove this was not difficult so soon as they limited themselves to the direct instructions of Jesus, and His own conduct. Thus they said, first in Galatia, and afterwards in Corinth, that the Gospel preached there by Paul was not the genuine and true one (Gal. i. 6). The latter was different, because Jesus Himself was different from the representation of Him given by Paul, who had not known Him (2 Cor. xi. 4). Paul had not seen Him; genuine acquaintanceship with Him, on the contrary, continued to exist in their midst, in the Jewish Church, as a living tradition. Appeal as Paul might to the manifestation of the Risen One to him, that could not supply the place of intercourse with Jesus. It was necessary to have known Him in His natural life; this was the cardinal point (2 Cor. v. 16); upon it depended the confidence that they really belonged to Him (x. 7). And if the real Christ Jesus lived exclusively for His people, and was at one with them as regards the law, what was to be said of teaching and work like Paul's, which were calculated merely to repel the Jews, and which therefore could not but be held responsible for the fact that the Messiah was withheld precisely from those for whom He was first of all meant? With this allegation it was sought to neutralise his efforts in Rome (Rom. ix. 1 ff.). For the rest, the Judaists also sought to show how little Paul was fitted to preach Christ and to represent Christianity independently, by asserting that he had at one time certainly required to obtain all his information in Jerusalem, and to submit his procedure to the judgment of the Church there.

Paul had but one stern and cutting criticism for this agitation and its instigators. Who these were he did not consider it necessary to indicate. In reference to the Galatian Churches he limited himself to an expression of wonder, how it was possible that they could esteem and listen to such men, that they could be deceived and be regularly entrapped by them (Gal. i. 7, iii. 1, v. 7). But

when he came to deal with the propaganda in Corinth, his contempt changed into the strongest reprobation. They were lying apostles, deceitful workers; their Christian apostleship was only an assumed mask; under that they were servants of Satan (2 Cor. xi. 13-15). The reprobation, like the contempt, points to something other than the false doctrine which they disseminated. We might be tempted to see in Paul's words the passionate outburst of the man whose whole work had been endangered. But that is not their explanation, unless Paul's sketch of this party and its plots is wholly without foundation. This sketch reveals every hateful feature of the sordid proselyte-pursuit of the Jews. It was not merely a question of the oblique methods and stratagems of the craft, their secrecy, their playing with the people with their grand announcements, their boasts about great names and alliances, each in its own place (2 Cor. iv. 2, xi. 4,18); nor was it a question of the arrogant summons to a kind of trial to which Paul was to be subjected (1 Cor. iv. 3). But what was to be above all condemned was the deception practised with the law in requiring merely its profession; and, further, with the name of Christ, in evading the significance of the cross, in order to escape its offence and the persecution that attended it (Gal. v. 11, vi. 12). Their last motive, which is clearly exposed, was of a personal nature, the satisfaction of their vanity and ambition (Gal. vi. 13; 2 Cor. v. 12, x. 15 ff., xi. 18); and, still more, of their selfishness: they made a trade of their work (2 Cor. ii. 17); and whenever they had gained a footing, and believed that they had obtained a hold on the people, they not only acted with a rude imperiousness, but with undissembled greed (2 Cor. xi. 20). And Paul had finally a special reason for his uncompromising character-sketch; in their opposition to him they disdained no expedient, however base, in order to undermine his prestige, and break the bond between him and his Churches. Meanly malicious attacks upon himself, in which the most was made of certain personal defects and infirmities, were combined with a revolting distortion of the facts, with charges made up of audacious lies.

The whole of this movement went on outside of its Judæan birthplace. Undoubtedly, however, it started from Jerusalem. In itself we might admit the possibility of the agitation having been promoted by members of the Diaspora, who, while Christians, were roused to anger by the preaching of Paul. But the circumstance that they formed a Christus-party, and that they could only do so by appealing to their personal connection with Christ, points to their union with the Judæans. This party, with whose activity we come in contact abroad, undoubtedly consisted, therefore, of a section of the Church of Jerusalem at the period.

§ 2. *The Primitive Apostles.*

It is not, however, the whole Church which we are entitled to regard in this way. While Paul spoke so uncompromisingly of the lying apostles who intruded into Corinth, the language used by him in the same epistle of the Twelve, and especially of Peter, is quite different. Their attitude at the time, however, we can also only learn from the history of the Pauline mission and from Paul's statements. Now we have here, to begin with, two fixed points: while they took no part in those acts of hostility, yet it is also clear that Paul received no open assistance from them. He nowhere appeals to them, nowhere can he use their attitude as a testimony against his opponents. And yet they were also actively engaged abroad. We see, from 1 Cor. ix. 5, how the Apostles, the Lord's brothers, and especially Peter, were accustomed to live when travelling. We can only suppose that they never encroached upon Paul's sphere; but they may now have given a further extension, in the districts of the Diaspora, to the mission they had reserved for themselves among the Jews. This is the most that we know.

The appearance of a Petrine party in Corinth suggests the question, whether Peter had there sought by personal, or by indirect action, to secure a distinctive following of his own. Personal action, however, a visit to Corinth on his part, is out of the question, in view of the complete absence of any hint of it in

Paul's writings. But even the other alternative is hardly justified, not merely because Paul has made no sort of complaint that would indicate Peter's interference by his agents, but also because the Christus-party could hardly have acted so unrestrictedly or so successfully, if his influence had actually stood in their way. We must therefore rest content with the conjecture that the Petrine party arose without his connivance, and on that very account was destitute of a more definite character. Thus then it possessed no lasting influence, and the aspiring Christus-party was able to outstrip it.

Little is to be inferred, therefore, from the Petrine party in Corinth as to the position of Peter himself, and we know still less in any other respect of the primitive Apostles at this date. The only thing which gives us a certain clue is the disposition of Paul, with the relations to others reflected in it. If we revert to the beginning of the period, we cannot fail to perceive that the collision in Antioch did not terminate satisfactorily. The Apostle's description makes this almost certain. In the historical argument given in Galatians in support of his independence, Paul could only appeal to his agreement with the early Apostles during the negotiations in Jerusalem. That ceased, however, at Antioch. The narrative ends, as regards it, with a discord. Peter was convicted by him, but plainly without effect; no change was thereby brought about in the position of affairs. If, however, we read on in the epistle, the impression produced by the absence of a favourable issue to the dispute is strengthened. Paul passes without other transition from his admonition to Peter, and addresses the Galatians themselves, in order to reprove them for their defection, and what he has to say to them is merely a continuation of his previous argument. But even the description of the conference at Jerusalem confirms this result of the dispute, since it clearly reveals a certain coolness of feeling towards those who had been 'pillars' there. It was not necessary for the purposes of the narrative to state emphatically that the former position of these men had no significance for him, that he laid no stress

on 'man's person,' because God did not regard it; these remarks could only therefore express his temper when writing. We may confidently assume, then, that Paul's relation to the primitive Apostles had not improved from the close of the dispute at Antioch until the date of the letter, that a certain estrangement rather continued to exist between them. And we come to the same conclusion, as often as we examine the tone and style in which Paul discusses the Petrine party and Peter himself in 1 Cor. Certainly, unfavourable criticism, offensive language, is wholly avoided. But there is just as little evidence or even suggestion of any approximation to Peter. What is to be observed, especially when we compare the treatment of Apollos, is rather an intentional reserve, a certain shrinking from discussing Peter (1 Cor. i. 12, iii. 22, iv. 6). The primitive Apostles, and among them Peter especially, form a group by themselves, and go their own ways. In the face of these Paul had constantly to exert himself to preserve the authority and independent position of Barnabas and himself (1 Cor. ix. 5 f.). He could not appeal to them, nor was he accepted by others as their equal. They let him take his own course—otherwise he must have attacked them—but they did not assist him; he was left to his own resources. He says (1 Cor. xv. 9, 10)—not without a feeling of bitterness—that he, the last to whom Christ appeared, was, of course, not worthy to be called an apostle (not, however, because men contested his claim, but) because he had once persecuted the Church of God, that nevertheless he was an apostle by the grace of God, and that this grace had not been ineffective; for he had wrought more than all the rest. After all this the conclusion is certainly justified, that Paul's relation to the early Apostles retained practically the character which it assumed after the events at Jerusalem and Antioch. And for this very reason his enemies had ample scope, because they had at their side the authorities in Jerusalem, who continued to occupy the same position of neutrality, a position which, in time, necessarily passed gradually away. Such was the state of matters at Jerusalem with reference to this party.

And yet it was the continuance of this attitude of 'the pillars' that could alone maintain the treaty, and conserve Paul's hope that he was not discarded at Jerusalem. Undoubtedly the great fact in all this is the nobility of his thought and action. When we realise this constant vexation, the narrow-minded and impotent opposition, the odious and mean attacks, to which Paul was exposed at every turn, we can estimate the greatness of the self-abnegation and magnanimity involved in his continued adherence to the alliance with Jerusalem, whence all the while these attacks ultimately originated, and where nothing was done, even by the primitive Apostles, to make his devotion easier. Yet he never wavered, but adhered firmly to the agreement and his promise. He did not himself visit Jerusalem in the first years after the treaty. The mention of a visit in Acts xviii. 22 is erroneous. There is no trace of it in his letters. He cannot have made it before the date of the Epistle to the Galatians. And we see immediately afterwards in the letters to the Corinthians, and later in the letter to the Romans, that he prepared himself for such a visit as for an extraordinary event, a momentous and decisive action; hence he could not have been in Jerusalem a short time previously. We learn from Rom. xv. 31 that he undertook his journey with a heavy heart. The anxiety that troubled him had a double cause—fear lest he might fall a victim to the enmity of the unbelieving Jews, but also the doubt whether the gift he intended to convey would be at all well received by the Jewish Christians in the city.

The promise formerly given by Paul at Jerusalem was undoubtedly not one to be implemented without difficulty. He had some trouble in making it clear to the Galatian Churches that it was their duty to indemnify a teacher who spent time and strength in instructing them (Gal. vi. 6). It would be hard for the Gentile Christians to understand why they should send their money to a foreign city like Jerusalem, to the saints there who were unknown to them. Paul had first to represent to them how they had thence received their spiritual possessions, and how they could

not better show their gratitude than by reciprocating with material gifts (Rom. xv. 27); he had to tell them also of the gain that was involved in the thanks of the recipients (2 Cor. ix. 12). He could not therefore look forward at the outset to a large collection. It was only during his long residence in Ephesus that its prospects became favourable. There he started the movement with a decree in the Galatian Churches, then in Corinth, afterwards in Macedonia, and lastly in Corinth again (1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2 Cor. viii. 1, 10). At first he intended merely to transmit the proceeds by the emissaries of the provinces. He would only take part personally in the event of a marked success. But the undertaking grew under his hands. Then he resolved to make the journey himself; the gift was to go forth from the Gentile Christians under his leadership. Thus it could test, whether the communion of the two parties still existed and was capable of being established a second time. In the first place Paul was always conscious that he was by this means fulfilling a duty (Rom. xv. 27). But this conviction was attended by a daring hope that this achievement would tend to the great glory of God; for it proved the fidelity of the Gentile Christians to their religion, and their broad and pure sense of fellowship with the Church, nay it could not but move the saints in Jerusalem to include them in their prayers and to embrace them with brotherly longing (2 Cor. ix. 13 f.). That was his hope, though not unmingled with anxiety.

Paul was far from confining his interest to the Gentile Christian Church which he had himself founded. His thoughts were much too lofty to leave Jewish Christianity to itself. He toiled not merely for his own work, but for the Church of God, the *ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ*, *i.e.* the whole Church. He never forgot for a moment the true birthplace of the gospel. And for him the Christians in Jerusalem were always the *ἅγιοι*, however ill-disposed the great majority of them might be to himself; his work was as much the cause of God as was the origin of the gospel itself; and that cause he ever regarded as superior to all human errors. He did not however merely entertain a grand policy of

ecclesiastical union, but his first and constant thought was that the primitive Church was the foremost divine institution under the Gospel. His opponents in it could not obscure that conviction, and in the early Apostles he saw, not men who had become estranged from him, but the Apostles of the Lord. From them the testimony to the Resurrection emanated (1 Cor. xv. 1 ff.). They were ever The Apostles, whom God had placed at the head of His Church, the first of those divinely commissioned men who held the leading office in the Body of Christ (1 Cor. xii. 28).

§ 3. *Paul in Jerusalem.*

In spite of all this, Paul's two-fold anxiety, the dread of an outbreak of that Jewish hostility which had pursued his whole work, and had long prevented him from venturing to Jerusalem (1 Thess. ii. 16), and, secondly, the doubt whether the great hope of his undertaking would be realised, and the Jewish Christians would accept his gift, cannot but have weighed more and more heavily upon him. How it fared with the latter, the reception of his gift, we do not know. According to the source used in the Acts, the brethren in Tyre already advised the Apostle not to go to Jerusalem (xxi. 4); the prophet Agabus foretold to him in Caesarea his impending imprisonment through the instrumentality of the Jews; and the Christians of that place combined with his companions in imploring him to give up his design (xxi. 10 ff.). The author of the Acts has himself introduced into the Apostle's farewell to the Ephesian elders the statement, that 'the Holy Ghost testified to him in city after city that fetters and afflictions were awaiting him' (xx. 23). Paul let nothing shake his resolution. He went to Jerusalem. His presence could not remain undetected. According to the Acts, it was Jews from Asia who first noticed him, and publicly demanded that hands should be laid upon this blasphemer of the law and national enemy (xxi. 27). What had been left unaccomplished in Ephesus was consummated. The populace rushed upon him; the Roman authorities protected

him from violence, but he was imprisoned as a disturber of the peace.

We have only a narrative in the Acts to show how Paul was received in the Jewish Christian Church, but, though undoubtedly highly coloured, it allows us a glimpse of the actual position. According to this, Paul was favourably received by James and the elders, but they advised him to appease the great mass of the Christians, who were prepossessed against him, by taking the vow of the Nazirites (xxi. 17 ff.). The attack was made before this was completed. The account of the conference as to this act of conciliation contains various errors. It is represented that the Christian zealots for the law had been roused by a report that Paul had been seducing the Jews in the Diaspora to revolt from the law (*v.* 21). This, however, was not the point in dispute between him and the Judaists; the latter, on the contrary, demanded that the Gentiles should submit to be circumcised; and this must have been known in Jerusalem. Further, the proposal made to Paul was to prove that he himself observed the law constantly and as a matter of principle. It is impossible that he can have acquiesced in this. Finally, the Acts represents that he acknowledged the decree as still existing for the Gentiles, which bound them to the recognition, though not to the complete observance, of the law. But the decree did not exist at all, and Paul would have been the last to recognise it, in this sense. In this information, accordingly, practically nothing is historical. The narrative, however, suffers besides from the irreparable defect that it utterly fails to notice the Apostle's collection and the question as to its acceptance. It is only mentioned later, in Paul's defence before Felix (xxiv. 17), that he had 'come to bring alms to his nation and offerings.' We learn nothing, therefore, as to the most important matter, while, on the other hand, Paul has here once more to justify his mission to the elders, precisely as he had done years ago, when he went to Jerusalem for that purpose. The conception of the historian is, however, undoubtedly correct in two respects. In the first place, Paul found the great mass of the

Christians in Jerusalem zealots for the law, much more so indeed than he had himself imagined. In the second place, the Church adopted an attitude of absolute neutrality during the storm that broke over him. However it may have fared, therefore, with the collection, Paul was not regarded as a brother by the great majority of the members.

Neither the hostility of the Jewish Christians to Paul, nor the endeavour to master the Gentile Christians abated in the least after the Apostle was taken prisoner. The letter written by him from Rome to Philippi proves that at the latter place both were persisted in. Once more the same party attempted, as it had done everywhere else, to deny his title to preach Christ, on the ground that he was no genuine Jew. Once more they wrought to have the Christians accept circumcision. And again these enemies of Paul were to be distinguished by the fact that, in spite of the name they assumed, they would have nothing to do with the cross of Christ, that their thoughts rose no higher than a religion attested in the flesh, and in a boast resting on the flesh. As at Corinth, so here, Paul declared that they were evil workers, even calling them dogs; for their spirit was that of genuine paganism (Phil. iii. 1-5, *v.* 18).

§ 4. *The last days of James. Emigration of the Christians.*

The Church in Jerusalem did not long retain peace with those outside its pale after the imprisonment of Paul. Although its attitude on that occasion gave no cause of offence, yet it was observed with distrust. And this distrust broke out suddenly in an act of violence, which affected it more painfully, and perhaps came upon it less expectedly, than any other could have done. Even before Paul's death in Rome, James was executed in Jerusalem; this was the act of the Jews. After the death of the procurator Festus, the tetrarch, Agrippa II., to whom the appointment of the High Priest was entrusted, nominated Annas the younger, the son of Annas, a former High Priest. Albinus, the

successor of Festus, had not yet arrived. Annas took advantage of the situation, summoned James, along with a few others, before the Sanhedrim, on a charge of violating the law, and had him put to death, A.D. 62.

We are entitled, according to Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 9, 1), to retain the association of the Apostle's martyrdom with these events, and with it the above date, in opposition to its close connection with the destruction of Jerusalem, alleged by Hegesippus and plainly invented, a connection that was soon absurdly transferred into the text of Josephus. Meanwhile, according to Josephus this action did not settle matters; further acts of violence were feared, and appeals were made for protection to Agrippa, and to Albinus at Alexandria. The former hastened to anticipate Roman justice, and deposed Annas. The account of Josephus explains the incident unsatisfactorily by attributing it to the violence of Annas, and to the tendency of the Sadducees, of whom he was one, to harsh measures. We learn nothing as to the motive that impelled him to select this particular victim. The legend preserved by Hegesippus concerning the same event (Eusebius, *Hist. Ecc.* ii. 23) is little calculated to supply the want. According to him, James was a national saint, and enjoyed the highest distinction, until the so-called Jewish sects, whom he here designates Sadducees, took alarm at his success in promoting Christianity, all the more since he had induced some of their own number to believe in Jesus as the Christ. Now when many even of the rulers adopted this creed, the Scribes and Pharisees created an uproar. They said that soon the whole people would have come to look forward to Jesus as the Messiah. Then James was challenged, curiously enough, to address the multitude assembled for the feast from the tower of the temple, and to disabuse them of their belief in Jesus as the Christ; he apparently consented, but made use of the opportunity to testify strongly to his faith. Thereupon he was hurled down, and, as he still lived, a tanner beat him to death with his staff. Yet after this he obtained burial, and a monument was erected to his memory beside the temple.

The crime was, however, at once followed by a divine judgment. From the whole narrative we learn nothing, and indeed only one feature is correct, viz., that the Christian church had again become an object of suspicion to a section of the Jews.

Thus closed the life of him who had personified the continuance of the Church in the nation and under the law, and the hope of the conversion of Israel. No persecution followed. The people were horrified at what had happened. The resumption of the Roman administration checked further measures. The Church itself, accordingly, underwent no change. It hastened to supply the place of its lost leader. And its proceedings are characteristic of the spirit in which the Church now lived, and reflect also a light on the motives that had prompted the elevation of James. It was not a survivor of the Twelve who was elected; the greatest reverence was paid by the Church to the kinsmen of Jesus; the family feeling of the Jews prevailed, and Symeon, a son of Cleophas, and nephew of Joseph, and therefore a cousin of Jesus, was appointed (Euseb. *Hist. Ecc.*, iv. 19, iii. 11). Whatever may have been his personal importance—and of this we know little enough—the leading point of view was his family connection. The same tendency was at work that had produced the exclusive claims of the Christus-party, and attached supreme value to connection with Christ 'according to the flesh.' This very party, therefore, the party of Paul's enemies, had now obtained the leadership. Yet, in spite of all this, the continuance of the Church among Jews and in Judaism had become intrinsically untenable, and it became more so daily, the more intense grew the excitement over the Roman rule, and the more extensively plans of revolt gained ground. The Christians determined to abandon Jerusalem in the first days of the war; they emigrated beyond the Jordan to the Hellenistic city of Pella. In the earliest account we have of this, that contained in Eusebius, the exodus is stated to have been due to a revelation received by the heads of the Church (Euseb. *Hist. Ecc.* iii. 5). The date itself is not defined more precisely. But since these Christians had clung so

long and so tenaciously to their settlement in Jerusalem, the conjecture is warranted, that their resolve, which involved the abandonment of all the hopes hitherto cherished by them, was formed at a moment when remaining had grown impossible. This points to the time following the victory of the Jews over Cestius, about the year 67. It was a time when the wave of confidence rose high, and threatened to overcome all resistance. Moderate and reflecting Jews, who considered the danger greater than the hope of success, and refused to submit to the fanatical reign of horror, also now abandoned the city. Least of all was there room there for the Christians; to take up arms would have been to deny the first principles of their religion; they would have ceased to be Christians. And so strong was the spirit of their gospel even in them, that they were able to choose, if not the abandonment, at any rate the postponement, of their long cherished hope of a Jerusalem become Christian. But the prestige and power, which the church of Jerusalem had hitherto maintained, were then lost for ever.

§ 5. *Thoughts of the Future.*

We have no direct information as to what took place within the Church during the last ten years of its existence. The thoughts and views that prevailed in it can be inferred in general from the state of matters afterwards prevalent in the exiled community. Our more precise insight into its life rests certainly on accounts which are not decades but centuries later. It would appear, however, that the heritage of that period was preserved with extraordinary tenacity. Yet we are perhaps not entirely limited to these inferences from a later history, if we take into account certain earlier sources of information, which can almost only have sprung from this last period of the Church in Jerusalem. As such we may regard the very impassioned thoughts of the future, which have been transmitted in the form of apocalyptic symbols.

In here making use of some portions of the Apocalypse of the New Testament, I must anticipate the examination of the book, and apply the conclusion there arrived at, that it is in some sense a compilation. Meanwhile the fact, otherwise astonishing, may serve in support of this view, that, if the book is not composite, then nothing has remained of the prophetic work of the primitive Church which was to all appearance so abundant, or nothing except this single important document, which yet would not represent one of the addresses delivered in the Church, but had taken the form of a book composed on a uniform plan.

But as regards the origin of such portions in the living prophecy of the primitive Church, the conjecture that it was of this nature seems to me to have gained rather than lost from the fact that it has been confronted by another hypothesis, viz., that of a Jewish rather than a Christian source. Let us only realise that the interest of those who delivered revelations in the Church of Jerusalem necessarily centred in the destinies of the Church, and that for them this was no other than the true Israel. Besides, the methods of Jewish and Jewish-Christian apocalyptics approximated closely enough to produce symbols which were so similar as to be capable of being confounded. But it is against the view that the book was of Jewish origin, that it has first to eliminate all traces of Christianity as foreign additions; and this procedure would only be admissible, if it were impossible to conceive of an origin that did not require such violent treatment. But the evidence for this does not seem to me at all adequate. On the contrary, the main points of the visions are explained much more naturally if we look for their origin in certain historical periods of the Christian Church.

Among the symbols in the Apocalypse, which part from the context as if of themselves, the first is the interpolation between the opening of the sixth and of the seventh seals (vii.). When the time of the great judgment arrives, a further delay is granted, until the servants of God shall be sealed (vii. 1-8). These are the 144,000 from all the tribes of Israel, the remnant of the sacred

people, now heirs of all the promises. The 12,000 of each tribe is a perfect number. It is but a few; the hope that once embraced the whole nation must have already grown narrower. But the nation is still represented in this select company of believers, and only from it come the servants of God. Yet a second vision follows, that of a vast countless multitude from the Gentile nations; they have already become the people of the Lamb, and serve before the throne of God (vii. 9-17). Who they are is a problem, but the problem is solved. They are the Gentiles, who have come out of great tribulation; the manner of their death has led them to share in the blood of the Lamb. What, therefore, the faith of the Gentile Christians could not do for them has been secured by their martyrdom. Here we have the expansion admitted by or compelled from the self-consciousness of the Jewish Christians. For it cannot be doubted that the symbol of the 144,000, as it is given in this passage, is of Judaistic origin. It does not refer to the ideal, but to the historical Israel, and it thus presupposes that mood and hope which maintained themselves as long as the Jewish Christian Church waited in Jerusalem. But the hope which limited itself to the deliverance of a fraction of the people can only have emanated from Jewish Christians. On the other hand, the addition admitted in the second symbol corresponds thoroughly in its turn to the view prevalent in this Jewish Christianity, that only believers who belonged to the nation were first of all and absolutely the elect, while the Gentile Christians were added to them, and merely formed a second grade. And painfully enough had even this recognition developed; nothing but the convincing power of a fact, the fact of Gentile Christian martyrdom, had produced it. These martyrs from heathendom were the victims of the Neronic persecution, whom the seer viewed as an indefinite multitude. The vision must, therefore, have originated after the year A.D. 64; but hardly long after, for the first symbol does not yet give any hint of the particular form of deliverance, the flight from Jerusalem; we may date it accordingly before the year A.D. 66.

We are brought to almost the same date by another symbol, inserted between the sixth and seventh trumpets, the symbol of the two witnesses (Rev. xi. 1-14). This is introduced by the solemn declaration that, while the holy city is to be trodden underfoot for forty-two months by the heathen, to whom the outside court of the temple is to be abandoned, the temple itself and the altar will be spared. Then, after this preparation, the two witnesses will appear, and for one thousand two hundred and sixty days summon the people to repentance. Their power over the elements enables them to spread dismay on the earth by means of plagues, and to defeat all resistance, until the world-power of Rome rises against them, and they are slain. But the triumph of the world is soon transformed into dismay. For they are restored to life, and raised to heaven; and the same hour an earthquake takes place, destroying a tenth part of the city, and killing seven thousand persons. Then fear takes hold of the survivors, and they give glory to God. The seer of this vision holds firmly to the belief that the temple would not be destroyed. The belief was not in harmony with the well-known saying of our Lord, whose authenticity, as is shown also by the history of Stephen, is hardly to be disputed. We do not know by what sort of artifice they may have been reconciled. This passage, at any rate, found its way into the Apocalypse at a time when events had already belied the belief. The fact only supports the axiom, that prophecies, especially those of an apocalyptic nature, are retained as tradition, without reference to their confirmation or refutation by history, and merely on the ground of the authority they have acquired. There is again, therefore, no reason why we should refer this short apocalypse to a Jewish source. The very fact that it finally deals with the conversion of the remainder of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and also that the mission of the two witnesses applies to Gentiles and Jews points to its Christian origin. This is no less true of the double character in which the city is shewn, of the appearance of the two witnesses before the Parousia, and of their fate under the type of the death and resurrection of Jesus. And all this is apart from

the improbability of a Jew announcing the destiny of the city and of the temple court, as is done in the vision, at a time when he saw before him the war with the heathen power of the world. The Christians in the city, on the contrary, under the influence of their bold national hope, might well cling to their belief in the duration of the temple, without evading the expectation of the judgment on the city. Hence the line drawn in the vision.

This also gives us the date of the prophecy. It is no longer consistent with the mood that possessed the Christians at their exodus. Here, however, the calamity of the impending war is still thought of as preliminary to those final measures meant by God to move the nation to repentance, and thus to the gospel. It is no longer the Apostles, or Christians in general, who are chosen as His instruments for this purpose, but the two witnesses, who certainly belong to the ancient history of the people, whether the seer understood by them Moses and Elias, or, without identifying them, merely had in view the fulfilment of some old prophecy like Zech. iv. 3. Their fate is only imitated from the death of Jesus, which was thus regarded, in the genuinely Judaistic conception of it, as simply an end of the conflict, leading from defeat to victory. The heathen power alone wages war with them, although the Jews do not listen to their call to repentance. The latter are then confounded by the sign, which God at last prepares for them, and now the hope is fulfilled; the remainder of the inhabitants of the holy city are converted. The whole course of events, as well as the hope that the temple would be spared, points to a time still anterior to the exodus from the city. The expectation still existed that the Jews in Jerusalem would be converted in the sorely tried but yet preserved city, and that thus the church of the faithful would expand into the Christian Israel.

It is not only these visions from the Apocalypse, however, which take us to the last period of the Church in Jerusalem, but the form which was there given to the sayings of Jesus Himself as to the future, before they passed into our first three Gospels.

Here also it was natural enough to assume a Jewish source, and this was formerly my own view. But this view breaks down, when we place ourselves in the period of their composition in the Jewish Christian Church. The disciples are thought of as still dwelling in Jerusalem. The symbol of horror, *i.e.* of the desolation of the sanctuary itself, which is here adopted, is followed by the exhortation to precipitate flight. This warning, however, must not be taken as a mere illustration of their troubles, as if it only applied indiscriminately to the inhabitants of the city and surrounding country; but it was addressed expressly to the disciples, accordingly to the Christians remaining in Jerusalem, and summoned them to pray that their flight should not be attended by distressing conditions, that it should not be in winter, or—as is stated in Matthew alone—on the Sabbath (Matt. xxiv. 20, Mark xiii. 18). Hence the exodus of the Christians had not yet taken place, and they still lived as Jews in Jerusalem. With this, however, agrees the whole plan of the prophecy. It falls into three parts, of which the first has still for its subject the preparation of the end, the second the great tribulation in Judaea, and the third the mighty transformation of the world itself, and the ushering in therewith of the advent of Christ. This triple division is recognisable as a common practice in the three woes of the Apocalypse (Rev. ix. 12, xi. 14). The first subject there is also war, the second the distress of Jerusalem; under the third the end can alone be understood. This simple division is but slightly obscured in the gospels by the interpolation, which occurs in Matt. xxiv. 9-14, Mark xiii. 9-13, Luke xxi. 12-19, and which at once reveals itself to be such by substantial divergences in the text. It is an elucidatory and essentially paraenetic section, which was inserted in the prophecy, and its place between the first and second divisions, between the beginning of sorrows and the great Judaean tribulation, was doubtless chosen, because it was customary to insert at that point exhortations for the present. Even from this, however, it is also evident where the present closes and the future begins. The prophecy was drawn up before

the Judaean tribulation; on the other hand men felt that the initial stage, the beginning of sorrows was already upon them. They were not yet at war, but in the midst of rumours of war. And to the onlooker in Judaea these grew to a universal rising of nation against nation, and kingdom against kingdom. From what they saw, the Jews hoped all the more confidently for the success of their cause. The Christians in their midst looked on the state of the world as they did, without, however, sharing their hope; to them it was all preliminary not to a triumph of the nation, but to the great judgment. In contrast to that hope, to the eye of the seer the day of wrath broke first upon the land of Judaea itself, and filled it with the great tribulation. He had not yet any experience of the form that this would take; it still lay in the future. For it he had only one sure indication, namely the prophecy of Daniel; thence he borrowed the *βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως*, the abomination of desolation; he understood it, however, in acccordance with 1 Macc. i. 54, 59, of a heathen altar set upon the altar of the temple; therefore it was *ἑστὸς ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ*, standing in the holy place; but because the words dealt with a matter which it was necessary to know and be capable of interpreting, the prelector is required to pay attention to the meaning, Matt. xxiv. 15; the words must be explained when read in the church; the matter is one which affects the hearers, and in the highest degree concerns them.

The prophecy has also placed the appearance of false prophets and Messiahs in this Judaean tribulation (Matt. xxiv. 23 ff., Mark xiii. 21 ff.); Matthew has, indeed, already mentioned them (xxiv. 4 f.), but only as an introduction and a sort of heading for the following prophecy, and without reference to any precise date. They will come forward in this great distress with delusive promises to the people, and lead them astray. Even then there were precedents enough for expecting this. The danger of deception, however, necessarily increased with the distress. Hence the anxiety lest even the elect, *i.e.* the Christians, might be carried away by it. This trait also conducts us to the same date

and situation; the Christians, whom the prophet has in view, still live in its midst as the elect of the Jewish nation, and share its destinies, though not its interpretation of them. The prophecy is written for these Jewish Christians alone, and there is as yet no presentiment that they would secede from the people before their impending calamities.

The situation is wholly changed in a further symbol from the Apocalypse, the vision of the woman in heaven (xii. 1-12). There is no doubt as to the meaning of this woman with the crown of twelve stars, or of the child which she is to bear. The Messiah arose from the people of Israel. The view, which here lies before us, was the common property of Jews and Christians. But the escape into heaven of the Messiah born on earth was foreign to the Messianic expectations of the Jews; the conception that after His birth He would live for a time in concealment has nothing to do with it. Still less pertinent is the Jewish belief that the Messiah, like the blessings of His kingdom, was prepared and existed long before in heaven; for here He is born upon the earth, and only then transferred to heaven, for purposes, which are also expressed in Acts iii. 21. The incident, combined with this, of the fall of Satan from heaven is also given (Luke x. 18) as a vision of Jesus, and is thus attested as belonging to Christian belief. Genuinely Judaistic is the conception of Jesus' death as merely the transition to His exaltation—a view indirectly given in the previous vision—and the consequent failure to mention it further. His life as a teacher, however, is left out of account in this apocalyptic view of His appearance. But even apart from this it is to be noticed that here the birth and ascension of the Messiah form merely the introduction to the real subject of the vision, the flight of Israel and the great fight in heaven. This fugitive Israel, however, can only be the Church. Even at the time of the Messiah's manifestation the nation was under oppression, and the world-power of Rome aimed at destroying Him, but He was caught up to heaven—to God. According to this type the Church was now delivered. This can only suggest the flight of the Jewish Christians from Judaea on

account of the war. Their Church was at this moment as much the true Israel, as the latter was the mother of Christ. It was ever the true people of God from which the Christ arose, and which now confessed Him. The only possible question is whether the vision was written after the flight, with the intention of justifying it and assuring the Church of its success, or whether, the flight being still in the future, the vision was a summons to undertake it. The latter view is supported by the circumstance that the expectation of a trial in heaven, which inaugurates the kingdom of God, succeeds the accomplishment of the flight. The following passage (xii. 13 ff.) consists of an expansion and adaptation of the older symbol. It is also determinative of the date of the latter, that all hostility to Christ and His Church is attributed to the Romans. The schism which has taken place between the Church and the Jews is evaded; their relation is only to be inferred indirectly from the Church being alone the true Israel of God. National feeling was still strong enough to throw a veil over the separation from, and the fate of, the people.

Thus all these productions of Jewish Christian prophecy are occupied with the events of A.D. 64 and 66. They thereby testify to the great excitement, the hope and fear, the varying thoughts of the future, the hard resolve, which belonged to this time. The inner motives of thought and action in the Church had become wholly different from those of the preceding period. The zeal for the law, the struggle against a Christianity destitute of the law, the work for the conversion of their nation, had been driven into the background; the distress came imperiously to the front. The facts compelled instant renunciation, the rescue of the faith from its most dangerous entanglement. From this inevitably arose the full perception of the fact that the nation from which they had to part was pursuing wrong paths. Only then was it possible to come to the later conviction that from the midst of this misguided people itself would ultimately issue the great instrument of godless power.

§ 6. *Ebionitism. The Epistle of James.*

The removal of the Church from its Judaic surroundings did not result in the abandonment of its Judaism. Its after-history, of which enough is known at any rate to show that it remained Jewish and adhered to the law, lasted for several centuries. These Christians remained Nasiraeans and formed a Jewish sect. They felt themselves to be the poor and insignificant members of the nation, yet claimed ancient prophecy for themselves as the elect remnant of Israel. Thus they acquired the name of Ebionites, and this soon supplanted the other title. They had come to be regarded as renegades by their countrymen, and were execrated by them. In their own eyes, however, they were all the more the true Jews, the chosen people. They held aloof from the Gentile Christians; but they could not wholly avoid the impression of the facts which attested God's presence with the latter, any more than the prophet who saw the 144,000 of the elect could refuse the testimony of Gentile Christian martyrdom. Thus they endeavoured in various ways to interpret the facts, and this could not but react on their own position; it necessarily led to the creation of various forms of thought among them.

All this belongs, in the main, to a following age. Yet we may at any rate pay attention to the traces left in our New Testament writings of the transformation in the life of this community. Such traces are preserved in the Third Gospel, which has made use of an Ebionite source, and in the Acts of the Apostles, to which the same remark in all probability applies. But the epistle of James may be especially employed here.

That epistle is certainly of Jewish Christian origin. Even the use of the term *συναγωγή* for the congregation (ii. 2) may stand as proof of this. So also the closing directions as to the usages observed in the Church (v. 12-20). Further, to the same effect are the conception of Christianity itself as a law, along with the rejection of Pauline doctrine, and the statements

regarding Christ which are limited to His being the Lord of glory and to His coming in the future as judge and redeemer of His own people. It is not so easy to discover where and when we have to place this Judaism. That it originated in the earlier period of the primitive Church is negatived by the references to Paulinism. Nor can it be said that the representation of the congregational meetings in ii. 2-4 takes us to Jerusalem, where it was still possible for rich Jews, who were not members of the Church, to attend. For these rich men are to be regarded as members, as is shown by i. 10, iv. 9, 13, v. 1, and, besides, even by ii. 1. This only is to be admitted, that the description of the συναγωγὴ all along starts with Jews and is based on Jewish conditions; but the whole picture is hardly capable of being reproduced historically. The warnings, however, against all doctrines of wisdom (iii. 1 ff.) as well as the attenuated conception of the law (i. 25, ii. 8, 12) are not consistent with the idea that the epistle may have originated in the later period of the Church in Jerusalem. That James himself was the author is out of the question, were it only on account of the familiarity with Greek shown in instances of paronomasia (ii. 4, iv. 11 f.) and still more from the acquaintance with Greek literature revealed in iii. 6.

The book is not a letter; it has not the form, the conversational style of a letter, and the address merely mentions an ideal multitude, like the 144,000 of the Apocalypse. Even if, however, we would, on the ground of the address, imagine it to be a circular epistle, this does not account for the absence of any dedication. On the other hand it undoubtedly looks as if the book aimed at imitating Paul's letters. We may regard the opening (i. 2-18) as a sort of introductory reference to the position of the readers at the time. In the same way i. 19-ii. 26 may represent a didactic, and the rest the paraenetic, section of the epistle. With all this, there is throughout no clear reference to definite relations or conditions, such as we expect in a letter. Apart from its indefiniteness, however, there is another remarkable peculiarity in the form of the writing. It consists, to a large

extent, of a quite disconnected series of sayings, which were not originally thought out in their present connection, but were already in existence and only put together. Our best example is the very first section, i. 2-18, which consists exclusively of such short passages. 2-4, 5-8, 9-11, 12, 13-15, 16-18. In these temptation, πειρασμός, is thrice spoken of. The verses 2-4 and 12, while they agree in their contents, are quite independent sayings on the same subject. And in the third instance, in 13-15, temptation is spoken of in quite another sense, and therefore for a different purpose. The other sayings, however, are as a whole only indirectly related to this subject, or are given as parallels. Something similar occurs in other sections of the epistle, which in this respect resembles such passages in the synoptic gospels, as, say, the last part of Matthew's Sermon on the Mount (Matt. vii.).

Here, however, we have the additional fact, long since observed, that the sayings of James show, even as regards their contents, a striking affinity to the synoptic sayings of our Lord, and in the first place precisely to those contained in Matthew's Sermon on the Mount; thus we may compare the prohibition of oaths (v. 12) with Matt. v. 37, the illustrations of the perishableness of wealth (v. 2 f.), and of the incompatibility of the love of God and love of the world (iv. 4) with Matt. vi. 20 and 24; the prohibition of judging (iv. 11) with Matt. vii. 1; and the command to pray (iv. 3 and 8) with Matt. vii. 7; finally the words as to doing and merely hearing (i. 23) with Matt. vii. 26. The same relation is found in other parallels, as *e.g.* the different fruits of different trees (iii. 12 and Matt. vii. 17 f., xii. 33, Luke vi. 43 f.) and the seed and fruit (iii. 18 and Matt. xiii. 8). So also the passage concerning the συναγωγὴ and what took place in it is probably best explained, if we regard it merely as an adaptation of words addressed by Jesus Himself to the Jews. Yet we may not at once infer from this phenomenon an extreme antiquity for the epistle, and ascribe it to a time when men still lived directly upon these sayings of the Lord, and their whole thought was saturated with them. The parallel passages in the Epistle have rather the

character of glosses and expansions. Many of the points of contact with Matthew's Gospel affect also those portions of the latter whose original character is on the whole questionable; thus *e.g.* the words regarding prayer (v. 16) and the treatment of erring brethren (v. 19) are related to Matt. xviii. 18 f., xviii. 15; compare also the saying as to faith (i. 6) with Matt. xxi. 21, and as to the judge before the door (v. 9) with Matt. xxiv. 33, Mark xiii. 29, (Luke xiii. 25). But, further, references are not wanting to passages in the gospels, which certainly belong to a later date; thus the saying as to the seed (v. 7), an application of Mark iv. 26 ff; and very markedly the words regarding laughing and weeping (iv. 9, *cf.* Luke vi. 24 f.), and perhaps also those about the rich man (iv. 11, *cf.* Luke xii. 18). The author had already before him the Ebionitic version of the opening of the Sermon on the Mount, and his thought as he proceeds is clearly related to those portions of Luke's Gospel which we are justified in referring to an Ebionitic source.

In keeping with this is the first and most striking feature of the standpoint from which the letter was written, the conflict it wages in support of the poor and weak, and against the rich (i. 9-11, ii. 2-7, 14-16, iv. 13–v. 6). There were indeed rich men also in the Church; but the poor alone were possessed of a sure hope, the rich were first to become like them by their own action, they required to become ταπεινοὶ, which the others already were (i. 10, iv. 9 f., v. i.). The second main feature distinctive of the letter is its rejection of the Pauline doctrine of faith and of justification by faith (ii. 14-26). It may indeed be said that the faith whose sufficiency is disputed in ii. 19, does not correspond to that which is said by Paul to justify. But that proves nothing; for the point is not what Paul understood by faith, but what interpretation our author put, or thought proper to put, upon his doctrine. But that he was dealing with Paul is evident from the fact that like Paul he makes the whole question turn on the antithesis between πίστις and ἔργα, and that he especially seeks to weaken the scriptural proof from the example of Abraham, and to give it

the opposite effect. Besides, the view of temptations, contested in i. 13, which attributed them to God, probably also contains a reference to Paul; apart from other passages 1 Cor. x. 13 could lead to its being ascribed to him. Finally, we may further regard as distinctive of the writer's standpoint his opposition to the false wisdom (iii. 1, 13), and to the pursuit of wisdom in general. All these features, however, are indications of an Ebionitic mode of thought.

Yet it is not the spirit of a harsh and bigoted Judaism which speaks to us from these pages. We cannot fail to perceive, especially in the polemic against the Pauline doctrine, a liberal, almost a conciliatory, view. And, to this extent, we have here, undoubtedly, the expression of a mode of thought which reminds us of the intermediate position occupied by James. But this does not do away with the observation, that the historical position of James is hardly to be reconciled with the conception of law given in the letter. The perfect law of liberty (i. 25, ii. 12), and the royal law of love to our neighbour (ii. 8), are no longer the positive law with its binding force, especially when we remember that it is identified with the implanted word which can save the soul (i. 21), with the word of truth by which God effects the new birth (i. 18). This idea of the law is only to be explained at all by a reference to Paul. Without his words (Gal. v. 1, 13), it would have been impossible for us to understand it. The Epistle of James is intended to dispute Paul's doctrine, and yet it appropriates his thoughts; the correction is to take effect by giving them a different turn, and drawing other conclusions from them. Similarly, the conclusion, otherwise obscure, which is adduced in iv. 11 f., is only to be understood by comparing it with Paul's words in Rom. ii. 1, and especially in xiv. 4.

It was not without reason that the writer began and ended with the exhortation to endurance and patient perseverance. It was not alone a question of the endurance of sufferings; nothing was left for this Jewish Christianity but resignation. Its own position was barren, while Paul's grand creation, Gentile

Christianity, advanced irresistibly. His was a noble spirit who, within those insurmountable barriers which surrounded the former, strove after a *via media* for himself, and, under the powerful impressions received from a doctrine which he could not adopt, made his own thoughts clear. He moved, indeed, amid the spiritual successors of James, but the air he breathed was already changed.

CHAPTER II

JERUSALEM—THE EVANGELIC TRADITION

§ 1. *Origin of the Tradition.*

THE whole delineation which it is possible for us to give of the primitive Jewish Christian Church depends, partly, upon information received from another quarter, partly, on a few indications which we can ascribe to it merely by the aid of conjecture. While recognising this, we must not overlook another source, which to some extent supplies the want. It exists in the first three Gospels. These books themselves were not indeed composed in their present form in that Church before the destruction of Jerusalem, nor were they by eye-witnesses of the events which they record. The Third Gospel expressly says this in its preface. The author distinguishes the tradition of the eye-witnesses, who were also the first ministers of the Word, the earliest propagators of the Gospel, from the narratives which later writers formed from it; he ranks himself with the latter, many others, however, having already preceded him in the work. To these the first two Gospels also belonged. It can be easily proved that their authors edited existing material, and that neither of them was at home in, or had a clear conception of, the country and the localities, the individuals and circumstances, with which he dealt. The case was different, however, with the sources they edited. With regard to them we can state just as positively that they originated in the primitive Church; their contents and type of thought, the antagonisms and manifold historical references, and, again, their

language, style, and form point to the life of the Christians in the midst of Judaism. Only in a comparatively insignificant part do they overstep this sphere; in the main body of the tradition they do not. The originality of the tradition is further proved by the fact that it only partially mirrors the period in which it was finally completed, and in which its possessors then lived. What these communicated is often over their heads, above their own thought and creative power. This very fact implies that as it stands it could only have come to them from actual eye-witnesses.

This is the finest memorial erected by the primitive Church in its own honour. The history of that Church shows it to have been far from productive of independent teaching; it has left behind no elaborated theology like that of Paul. It diffused the gospel only in a narrow and strictly defined sphere. Brought face to face with the splendid conception, and the bold enterprise of Paul, it appears only as the advocate of stagnation and the originator of the hindrances that confronted him. The merit of the Church first becomes conspicuous when we realise the fidelity and tenacity with which it clung, situated as it was, to its Master and His teaching. What it had to overcome in Jerusalem was certainly harder than anywhere else. Christian Churches, formed in a heathen city, certainly never experienced, either at the outset or throughout their history, a hatred and opposition like those which surrounded believers among their Jewish compatriots; and nowhere was the self-sacrifice of renunciation, the conflict with the power of a traditional doctrine, greater than in the case of native Jews. And yet they held their ground. At the same time they thus rendered in their place splendid services to Gentile Christianity. The greatest danger which ultimately threatened the vast aims of Paul was the disruption of the movement, the preponderance of influences engendered on foreign ground, the reconstruction of the faith, and the separation into different schools, each appropriating what according to its own taste and judgment seemed good. We cannot duly estimate the part played in overcoming this danger by the maintenance of the

historical starting-point, the standard by which to test it emanating from the primitive Church. To this was especially due the fact that Christianity came to the heathen as a new creed, and yet as a historical religion, nay, as a religion at all, which could not be resolved into a philosophy. The reverence with which Paul, even in the midst of his conflicts, ever looked towards Jerusalem expressed his own sense of this value of the Church existing there. What that Church had chiefly and permanently to offer was, however, neither more nor less than the preservation of actual acquaintance with Jesus Himself, and the lingering influence of a personal relationship to Him. It held possession of the historical Christ, and no one, not even Paul, could dispense with its aid, if the faith was not to cut itself adrift from Jesus. It was thus the living pledge of this connection. The duty here imposed upon it, it discharged by cherishing the tradition of Jesus, and the sources of our Synoptic Gospels are the proof that it did so. The memorial which the primitive Church thus left of itself may, however, be also still employed to furnish an insight into its own life.

The Gospels presuppose a living tradition; this is at once evident from the date at which they themselves were composed. But even if the composition of one or more of them had belonged to the period of the primitive Apostolic Church, this would not, in any case, have formed the starting-point. They are histories, though written for practical use; they did not make the first collection of their material; there is nothing to show that in the lifetime of Jesus records were kept; indeed, this is incompatible with the character of His teaching and of His life with His followers. But it is certain that even after His death no one thought at once of making any such comprehensive record. The first attempt of the sort perhaps dated from the rise of the mission to the Diaspora, when agents entered on the work who stood at a distance from the whole of the original circle, or who had only come into contact temporarily with the eye-witnesses. It is at least conceivable that here the need came to be felt of providing

such men with written documents. But it is not even yet probable that this led to a complete history.

It is a wholly different question, however, whether, up to the time when a Gospel was first composed, the tradition existed purely, as it were, in a wild state, consisting merely in the repetition of the material, a repetition untrammelled by any standard, and ever being freely passed from one believer to another. In part this was indeed the case; the evidence to show how long it may have been continued does not consist in the repetitions in themselves, as they now lie before us; for these admit of another explanation; but in the fact that sayings of Jesus which do occur repeatedly have not obtained a fixed context, a fixed form. Yet this is only an isolated phenomenon, and on the whole the relic of a past time and state of matters. But we are prepared to believe that the tradition followed a certain standard and possessed fixed forms at an even earlier date, as soon as we reflect that it was not exactly a mere matter of the intelligent and loving recollection of the individual, but that from the very earliest period onwards it necessarily served definite objects of the community.

Such objects are to be recognised as a necessity, as an inevitable want. In the first place, the Church used the words of Jesus to mould and supervise the life of its members. Even Paul supported his decisions in practical matters in his Gentile Christian Churches, by appealing to a saying of Jesus as a binding command whose force was for him, as for the Church, beyond all question. It is certain that he derived this practice from the quarter whence he obtained the words themselves. His authority can only have been the primitive Apostles, and the teaching possessed the same weight in the primitive Apostlic Church. The words of Christ, accordingly, did not circulate in that Church in a wholly unrestricted form, but they took the place of a permanent doctrine; they were necessarily renewed from day to day in the recollection of the members, and, simply because they were regarded as binding precepts, they came to be stereotyped and recognised through the concurrence of the witnesses.

We must adopt another point of view in deciding how a knowledge was transmitted of the events in which at least a large number of the first members of the Church had participated, accordingly, how the experiences and deeds of Jesus were remembered. These entered at first only partially into the actual teaching of the Church, *i.e.* only in so far as they proved the fulfilment of prophecy, and therefore justified belief in Jesus as the Messiah. In this case, however, it was not so much the historical narrative as the text of Scripture, to which the facts were referred, that formed the foundation of a lecture. Whatever else lived in their recollections was certainly not made the subject of addresses in the Church, but of informal conversation among its members. This was changed whenever the Gospel message was transferred to wholly new spheres, and delivered to men who had hitherto been absolutely ignorant of Jesus and His deeds. It was not then enough merely to assert, as in Acts x. 38, 'that God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Spirit and with power: and that He went about doing good, and healing all who were oppressed by the devil, for God was with Him.' Such summaries presuppose a knowledge of the events. But it was above all necessary to offer evidential narratives, pregnant and convincing examples to those who, as yet, knew nothing of this life, this healing and working of Jesus. Then and there, however, the sway of mere personal recollection ceased, and gave place to a definite version, which, the product of joint effort, acquired a more determinate form through its purpose and its repetition. We need not in this case, any more than in that of the sayings, resort to the thought of a formal agreement and decision on the part of definite agents. But here, as there, authority certainly took root, and produced a certain usage. Nor need this narrative exemplar have come into vogue only when the Gospel passed to the Hellenists; we may assign it to the foreign Jewish Christian mission of the primitive Church. It only followed, however, the arrangement of the Lord's sayings, the rule of life in the Church; that was ever first. And, similarly, it is involved in the nature of the case that the form

of the sayings was stricter than that of the narratives, and that the latter crystallised more slowly. In the one case we are dealing with precepts, in the other with examples. The former were delivered to the whole Church, the latter were carried beyond its pale by individual missionaries. Between them there existed substantially a difference in the mode of conveying instruction like that between the Jewish Halacha and Haggada.

It is only when we figure to ourselves in this way the formation of a fixed tradition of the material of which the Gospels were composed—a formation dependent on actual conditions and causes—that we are in a position to state properly the question as to its earliest form. It is not quite correct to take that question to be, whether oral tradition alone existed, or whether there were already written notes. The essential point is rather, where and how soon the free tradition assumed a fixed form. Undoubtedly this after all took place before the composition of the historical books known to us as our Gospels. But in that case we must also expect that this moulding of the tradition may still be indicated from their sources. We must regard as the most direct and certain mark of this moulding the combination of the material into pieces complete in themselves, which served for the discussion of single doctrines: if, that is, it can further be perceived that those pieces, as they now exist, were not severally compiled in the above form by an evangelist, or by a predecessor of the same character, and thus developed from the plan of an evangelic book, but that, being found by the writer already composed, they were adopted and appropriated by him. Nor, in that case, can the traces of a further revision and of additions by the evangelists themselves affect the result.

§ 2. *Collections of Sayings.*

Now, as a matter of fact, the above conclusion can be demonstrated, and the proof is especially facilitated by the fact, that our Gospels have treated these sources diversely and freely, and yet plainly point to corresponding materials.

Under this head the discourses once more take the first place. The earliest writer to refer to the words of Jesus, and to cite them as a guide to faith and conduct, is the apostle Paul. It is certain that in doing so he did not make use of any of our Gospels; for the words of institution of the Lord's Supper, which he reproduces as traditional (1 Cor. xi. 23 ff.) are neither taken from Matthew nor Mark, with whose version they do not agree; nor are they derived from Luke, though they correspond most closely to his text; for Luke undoubtedly wrote later. Of Jesus' utterances, quoted by Paul, the one as to divorce, in 1 Cor. vii. 10, is a single saying. But even that in reference to the maintenance of preachers of the gospel (1 Cor. ix. 14) bears a general title; it belongs to the instructions of Jesus to the ambassadors of the gospel. The saying, however, in 1 Thess. iv. 15-17, as to the future coming of the Lord, and the fate of the dead as well as of those still alive at the time, a saying which, moreover, though contained in none of our Gospels, is indisputably a quotation, is recommended to the Church as containing a doctrine on the basis of which the members are to encourage one another. With these words (ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τούτοις), as forming a didactic piece on one point of doctrine, they are to edify themselves. Paul, therefore, was in possession of such discourses of Jesus, and he has reproduced them, at least in part, in a different form from that given by the Evangelists. And this usage was still current at a later date. Clement of Rome, in quoting a saying of Jesus, does not speak of Gospels; the title of his source is rather οἱ λόγοι τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ (xiii. 1, xlvi. 7): 'The discourses of the Lord Jesus.' From these he has in one place borrowed a passage which treats of reasonableness and patience, and his quotation, while related to the text of the Gospels, is not verbally identical with it. This holds true also of the second instance, which deals with the man who causes offences. Later we have to consider the much discussed statement derived by Papias of Hierapolis from his older informant as to the genesis of Matthew and Mark's Gospels (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 39). Neither Papias nor his informant retained any clear idea

of the sort of records which preceded our Gospels, or, therefore, of the kind of document on which Matthew's was founded. It is all the more important that the former has preserved the title, only intelligible as the name of a book, and, therefore, of itself significant, viz., λόγια of the Lord. The word is elsewhere, as in Clement of Rome, invariably applied to the divine utterances contained in Holy Scripture (in the Old Testament). If here it is equivalent to the utterances of Jesus, then the contents are clearly the same as those of the discourses, λόγοι; the change of title merely expresses the character of the sayings, in virtue of which they rank with those ancient oracles of God. In addition to all this, we can still discover that such sections of discourses compiled from the words of Jesus became a type and pattern for the composition of similar didactic pieces in the early Church. The most direct example of the manner in which the one grew absolutely from the other is furnished by the groups of sayings in the Epistle of James. Other instances can be cited from the post-apostolic and apologetic literature.

Now it is sometimes expressly stated in our Gospels that such λόγοι of Jesus, meaning thereby not merely separate sayings, but didactic compositions, have been inserted at particular places into the course of the narrative. This is usually indicated in Matthew's Gospel at the close, or in passing to other matters, by the phrase: 'And it happened, when Jesus had ended these sayings (or instructions, or parables),' (Matt. vii. 28, xi. 1, xiii. 53, xix. 1, xxvi. 1). This is a formula with which the author takes a note of what he has himself done. He has distributed the pieces adopted by him well and judiciously through his narrative. It is sometimes very striking, however, to note that they have no natural, no given historical setting in the context of his narrative, and this is the case, at the very start, with the Sermon on the Mount. The Gospel of Luke, similarly, reveals to us that the historian had before him certain didactic pieces in the form of wholes complete in themselves, and regarded and retained by him as such, though in a different way. Hence we find such composite sections pro-

vided with prefatory headings, as in the case of the sayings (xi. 14-16) in which Jesus deals with the charge that he was in league with Beelzebub, and with the demand for signs. Still commoner, however, is the practice of introducing the whole piece by a sentence which furnishes it with an occasion, which is indeed quite indefinite, and devoid of the clearness of an actual event. So in xii. 1, where a beginning is made to number the following discourses (*πρῶτον*). See also xv. 1 f., xvi. 14, xviii. 9. These compilations of discourses in Luke do not consist so predominantly as in Matthew of complete and connected speeches; they form, rather, open groups of smaller sections: the connection between these is not always at once apparent, although it does not elude a more careful examination. On the other hand, there can be no doubt that the long source, inserted by the Evangelist in ix. 51-xviii. 14, was a collection of sayings. Luke, accordingly, has quite as much as Matthew, though in a different way, furnished us with evidence of the existence of such collections, and of their use as sources. Matthew has given a prominent place in his text to certain long pieces as such; Luke directly indicates one whole collection.

This general reflection is further supported with regard to both Gospels by certain details to be observed in the text. As regards first the great discourses in Matthew, we are at once struck by the fact that, in spite of the essential relationship that pervades the whole, the unity of the consecutive parts is unequal. This unity extends in the principal discourses only to a certain point; the last section then adheres less closely to what precedes, and its details are more loosely knit together. Since this phenomenon is repeated, there can hardly be a doubt that in such instances we have a composition which was added to, perhaps before it came into the hands of the evangelist, perhaps by that writer himself, but which was in any case received by him as a source.

As regards Luke's Gospel, on the other hand, the following features are to be considered. In the first place, a phenomenon is to be observed, which points back to a still elementary form of

composition. The arrangement might at first, while oral tradition prevailed, be due to quite accidental and superficial motives, to such as merely facilitated recollection and repetition. Sayings are often conjoined, though of different import, simply on account of verbal consonance, or a similarity in the figure employed. Thus in Luke viii. 16 f. (*cf.* Mark iv. 21 f.) the saying as to the light and lamp is combined with the axiom, that what is at first hidden shall be made manifest. Again, in Luke xi. 33-36, sayings are connected which have nothing directly in common save the figure of the light which illuminates. The first of these refers to the active exercise of one's own gifts in order to influence others. The rest adds to the figure of the light and the eye the reminder that men require an inward centre of light. In the same way, Luke (xii. 9, 10) combines the words as to the denial of Jesus before men and its punishment with the saying that while blasphemy against the Son of Man will be forgiven, blasphemy against the Holy Ghost will not. These passages do not cohere, the second even weakens the first. Nothing but the threat of punishment for the denial and gainsaying has brought them together. The earliest tradition has here formed its combinations inartistically and aimlessly, in accordance with external motives. Heterogeneous thoughts were set side by side on account of verbal consonance, or an affinity in their conceptions; and the influence of the tradition alone preserved the combination. There can, accordingly, be no doubt that this was not originally due to the historian, the evangelist, whose own method was wholly different, and who not infrequently has infused a deeper meaning into these merely superficial combinations, by the wider setting in which he has placed them. In any case he lived too long after the days of this elementary form of composition to have been able to derive his material directly from the earliest oral tradition; it must have lain before him in a written authority.

The second feature to be observed in Luke's Gospel is that in not a few cases a text lying before him is provided with a gloss. We have such an elucidation in the addition (Luke v. 32), 'to

repentance,' in the saying: 'I am not come to call the righteous, but sinners.' The phrase did not originally belong to the saying (*cf.* Matt. ix. 13). We have a striking instance of a similar kind in Luke v. 39: 'And no man having drunk old (wine) desireth new; he saith: the old is better.' Common property of the tradition this verse, in the above connection, is not (*cf.* Matt. ix. 16 ff.; Mark ii. 21 ff.); it does not suit the context. It is a proverb of common life, employed allegorically to explain the repugnance of the Jews to the new teaching, and can only have originated in the time of Gentile Christianity. There is also a similar gloss in the text, where Luke viii. 18 (*cf.* Luke xix. 26; Matt. xiii. 12; Mark iv. 25) instead of: 'from him shall be taken away even that which he hath,' we read: 'that which he thinketh he hath.' Similarly Luke (x. 7) adds to the instruction given to the apostles to remain in the first hospitable house, 'that they were to accept meat and drink from its occupants, for the labourer was worthy of his hire' (*cf.* Matt. x. 11), although this is to be regarded, from 1 Cor. ix. 14, as an ancient saying of the Lord. This procedure furnishes us also with an explanation of the sayings in Luke xvi. 16-18, which have here lost their original meaning, and are employed, in part by means of allegory, as a doctrinal heading for the following parable. All this insertion of glosses and revision of the text by their aid indisputably imply, however, the use as sources of written compositions consisting of discourses.

Our third observation on Luke's Gospel, finally, affects the composition of the longer pieces in which discourses are contained, and that as regards the feature already mentioned: the connection is by no means at once apparent, the materials seeming not infrequently to have been thrown together as by chance. This can hardly be attributed to the Evangelist, since wherever he has wrought independently he retains perfect command of his matter, and shows his ability both to arrange it properly and to give it a consistent form. It can therefore only be referred to the manner in which his source was constructed. His own work, the introductory sentences, meant from time to time to fix a historical

situation and occasion, has rather broken the continuity and obscured the connection. It has led to the almost entire loss of any indication of purpose in the text of the source.

Now, if the Evangelists employed such collections of discourses as authorities, it may be presumed that the latter did not yet aim at giving history, but were composed for the common wants of Christians. This conjecture is, however, further confirmed by the difference in style between the discourse-fragments of the two Gospels. The difference finds expression in such a way that the attempt to explain the whole state of the case from the employment of one of them by its successor will always be fruitless. The distinction in the spirit of the representation is much more thoroughgoing than the difference in the standpoint of the Evangelists themselves, so far as that can be recognised in the avowed objects of their historical work. The origin of the distinction is only to be found in the continued development of the tradition of the primitive Church which they employed. And this explains why the plan of the discourse-fragments is much more transparent in Matthew than in Luke. The transmitted pieces are employed more naturally in the source of the former, more artificially in that of the latter. This can only have been caused by the wants which called for the earlier composition having been more closely related to its contents than in the case of the second.

On comparing the discourses in the two Gospels, it is scarcely possible to doubt not only that their sources were composed at different dates, but to which of these we must assign the priority. What above all strikes the careful reader in Matthew's discourses is the observation that we are here still exclusively occupied with the secession of the Church from Judaism and its authorities. Thus did Jesus Himself oppose the Pharisaism and the Scribes of His time, the piety that was then esteemed. But the members of the primitive Church, in its earliest period, were still engaged in the same conflict; their whole position incited them constantly to keep these utterances of Jesus before them, for their own justification and encouragement. But when we observe that these

references take a markedly secondary place in the discourses in Luke's Gospel, this single feature is decisive for the view, that we have here already to do with a later formation, wherever this may have had its seat. Now, however, we observe further, that these very discourses in Luke strongly represent the Gospel for the poor, and that this feature points of itself to the later period of the Jewish Christian Church, when Paul was collecting for its poor, a period which prepared the way for Ebionitism. The author of the Gospel certainly did not introduce this element himself. He belonged to the Gentile Christian Church, and we know of no situation in the early history of that Church which could have given occasion to it in this form. Where we trace Luke's hand most plainly—as it is possible to do by means of his mode of representing facts—his aims were wholly different. It is involved in the thought of his authority, however, that the Pharisees appear as the representatives of wealth and avarice quite as much as of self-righteousness (xvi. 14).

When we compare the two collections of discourses as wholes, that employed by Matthew is in its main lines uniform and simple. It contains merely passages adapted to the instruction of the earliest Church: the doctrines of righteousness, the disciples' calling, the kingdom of God, the duties of the community, the false system of the Jews and Pharisees, the future of the kingdom of God. The combination of the parts was determined by the subjects treated; the Evangelist first gave it a historical character. This was in all probability the writing ascribed by tradition, according to Papias' presbyter, to Matthew. The collection of Luke, on the other hand, belongs from its very plan to a time when the attempt was being made to arrange these compilations in their historical sequence; for this reason the Evangelist has treated them as a book of history, and incorporated the greatest part in his own narrative as an inherent section of the history. Even this discloses, however, traces of gradual expansion. In chap. xiii. everything points to the narrative coming to a close; what follows is an added continuation. We have here,

accordingly, clear evidence of various strata in the work of editing.

Thus, then, we possess in the comparison of the sources from which the two Gospels obtained the discourses a means of information for a considerable part of the activity and development of the primitive Church. What this signifies must be ascertained more minutely from outstanding examples taken from both writings.

§ 3. *The Discourses of Matthew.*

The great discourses in Matthew's Gospel everywhere reveal their origin in the practical wants of the Church. The Sermon on the Mount is a genuine charge to the disciples, yet it contains really nothing as to their vocation in diffusing the Gospel, but only the rules for their own conduct, the way of righteousness in its salient features, and in its contrast with the world that surrounded them. It is given, therefore, as Jesus' legislation, and the view is suggested that He began His labours among the people with such comprehensive and fundamental deliverances. That was also, indeed, the Evangelist's intention. The discourse, however, is certainly not to be referred as a whole to any such point in the life of Jesus. What a conception we should require to form of His work as a teacher, if we were to suppose that He began by delivering a kind of catechism! The difficulties in the way of this view have also found expression in the version of the matter given by the Evangelist. He introduces the discourse as an address delivered to a multitude, yet retaining everything that was expressly intended for the disciples. The discourse, as Matthew has adopted it, was in fact a kind of code, but such as originated in and was designed for the Church. Those who had once heard Jesus speak of these matters put their reminiscences together.

The nucleus consists of a few long main sections, which do not necessarily cohere, but rather reveal their independence. The first treats (v. 21-48) of the existent legal usage of the Scribes,

a usage in which the disciples were not to acquiesce. In opposition to that application of the law, wholly different rules were to prevail among them. And the section contains the most important utterances of Jesus on the subject, combined and numbered in thesis and antithesis, the whole concluding with the loftiest truth. The second section (vi. 1-18) consists of His judgment upon the pious usages then esteemed, and the reformation in them advocated by Him. The third (vi. 19-34) contains His view of a worldly life in its pursuit of gain, its enjoyment, and its cares; the antithesis consists in the perfect service of and perfect trust in God. The commandments in these three sections together form a sort of primer, which was, however, first constituted by the combination of those didactic pieces, whose original independence is at once apparent from the parallel sections of Luke's Gospel. But just as it had all sprung up in the course of the instruction given by Jesus from the aspect of His environment, so the tradition clung to it; for the environment was still the same, and the Christian's task was ever to free himself from it in his own life and work. Compared with those intermediate main sections, the nucleus of the Sermon on the Mount, both the twofold introduction (v. 3-12 and ver. 13-16) and the appendix (in chap. vii.) take a secondary position, in so far as neither is so closely related in its subject-matter to the main body of the sermon, as the separate portions of the latter are to one another. In other words, these—the three main passages—may have come into the hands of the historian, combined as they are at present; the introductory and closing sections were first connected with them by him. For, as regards the introduction, the passage (v. 13-16) in which the disciples are named the salt and light of the world, and are called upon to influence others by their example, was, certainly, motived by a definite historical situation; it must have been spoken in a certain connection now lost, and, though employed here very appropriately to introduce what follows, yet it did not belong to the compilation intended for the use of the Church. And the glorious first passage, the Beatitudes, is in a wholly similar posi-

tion. Moreover, the exhortations of the appendix, contained in no less than seven shorter sections, which are connected, though in a very loose and by no means logical order, were in any case supplementary to the preceding commandments. Of course, they have this in common with the latter, that they furnish the disciples with regulations for their life; but they could not have been put together at the same time with the earlier sections, if only because they repeat subjects already discussed. And, besides, sayings of a quite late authorship occur among them, sayings which can neither be referred to Jesus, nor even to the primitive Church. In this case, accordingly, the Evangelist has plainly contributed to the work, selecting from all sorts of miscellaneous material at his disposal. The intermediate main-section stands out only the more conspicuously as a source employed by the historian, and, in fact, as a didactic piece for the instruction of the Church.

A similar insight into the tradition of the primitive Church is afforded us by the second great discourse of Jesus in Matthew's Gospel (chap. x). In its present position it is a historical piece; its occasion is the appointment of the Twelve, and it contains nothing inconsistent with the object assigned to it. But this is by no means enough to determine the unity of the outline. On the contrary, we find, on comparing ver. 24-42 with what precedes, that there are several repetitions which discountenance this unity of origin; besides, this closing section is also strikingly like the last part of the Sermon on the Mount, in that it also contains a loose and motley string of shorter sentences and minor wholes, and, further, has admitted sayings which can hardly have come from Jesus, pointing rather, as they do, to later conditions. The two longer preceding main-sections of the discourse are in both respects of quite a different character. The first, contained in Matt. x. 5-15, is the charge proper delivered to the emissaries of the Gospel, containing all their principal instructions: the brief summary of their teaching, the regulations for their calling, and also for their attitude in respect of the different ways in which they

would be received. That this document formed an independent didactic piece is shown in the various parallels (Mark vi. 7-13; Luke ix. 1-6, x. 2-11). This was, without doubt, one of the most current pieces, circulating both among the sayings of Jesus and afterwards in all the narratives of His history, whence, besides, it is evident that there was no agreement as to its historical position. We may conclude from this that it was composed at first as a discourse. But, further, we may claim the greater originality for Matthew's version; for this has alone retained the exclusive destination of the mission for the Jews, thus pointing back to the primitive Church, while in the abbreviated representation in Mark vi. 7-13 and Luke ix. 1-6, this trait has disappeared, and, on the other hand, later elements are to be recognised in Luke x. 4 and ver. 7. To this first main section is attached (Matt. x. 17-23) the second, which treats of the persecutions to be expected by the disciples, and their defence. This is also an independent piece, and originally had no historical introduction; therefore it is also elsewhere provided with a wholly different context (Mark xiii. 9-13; Luke xxi. 12-18). In this case Matthew's version is again the oldest; once more it has alone retained, quite in the spirit of the primitive Church, the restriction of the Apostles' activity to Jewish territory. Thus these two sections, which were quite essentially meant for the instruction of the Church, together form, in a very real sense, the fundamental law for the missionary activity of the Church. And it is not difficult to conceive that they were supplemented and extended by analogous sayings. The later additions, however, were not so stereotyped as the main sections, and subsequent writers who inserted this material into their historical narrative had plenty of scope, as we see in our Gospels, for selecting and revising.

The collection of parables in Matt. xiii. is especially instructive with regard to the tradition of the discourses. There can be no doubt that the Evangelist's narrative is alone responsible for the delivery of the seven parables on a single day, or for having made a history of the event at all. It is all the more conceivable in

itself that he should have been the first to combine the parables; and this is supported at a first glance by the occurrence of some of them elsewhere in another connection (see Luke xiii. 19, 21). In reality, however, he must have found a collection already in existence. The inequalities and inconsistencies in the narrative would scarcely be explicable if he had been at liberty to arrange them as he chose. Any one may see at a glance the irregularity in the narrative: Jesus delivers the first parable from a ship to a great multitude at the sea-side; He then explains it, without leaving the spot, to the disciples alone, and thereafter delivers three more; then, however, in order to explain the first of these three to the disciples, He betakes Himself at last to a house, where, finally, after this second interpretation, He imparts other three. The details here given of the situation were not all cast in the one mould, nor can they have been originally related in this form; the passage rather betrays unmistakably the awkward adaptation of an editor. The formulas originally employed in the compilation are, however, still clearly preserved, sometimes in the words ἄλλην παραβολὴν παρέθηκεν (or ἐλάλησεν) αὐτοῖς (ver. 24, 31, 33), sometimes in the repeated use of πάλιν to introduce another parable (ver. 45, 47); and the change in the formula shows us plainly enough that here we have before us different strata in the compilation. At the same time, however, these formulas, as a whole, prove that the source or sources consisted of collected *logia*, which, for the rest, had no narrative setting. We have still further to notice, however, that the account of parables spoken by Jesus is rounded off in ver. 34 f. with a closing observation as to His parabolic teaching, although others are afterwards added. This indicates unmistakably the existence of two strata in the representation, a fact only to be explained by the use of sources.

The parallel instance of Mark, who in iv. 21, 24, 26, 30, has connected four with the recurring καὶ ἔλεγεν, furnishes us with evidence of such a combination of separate parables to form a sheet of discourses. For the rest, the synoptic relation, as regards the whole section of parables, between Matt. xiii., Mark iv., and

Luke viii. 4-15, is of a kind to be explained neither from the mutual independence of the Evangelists, nor from a single ultimate source running through the whole. On the other hand, we can assume as almost certain, not only that all three possessed collections of parables, all of which began with the parable of the Sower—the arrangement after that point, however, taking various forms,—but that this parabolic teaching formed also the subject of a narrative piece. Looked at more closely, a comparison of the Synoptic Gospels leads us to observe that there existed two different types of sequel to the main parable. The one is to be seen in Matthew, where it is followed by those of the Wheat and Tares, of the Mustard Seed, and of the Leaven; the other in Mark and Luke, where it is combined with the parable of the Lamp, the doctrine that what is hidden shall be revealed, and the exhortation to listen intelligently and to increase the spiritual possession. The chief parable is itself set in different lights by the different appendices. In the former setting, that given by Matthew, we find exclusively instructions as to the Kingdom of God, or the results of the sowing of the word, of the beginnings of the Gospel. In the other, the whole reference is to the disciples' attitude to the parabolic teaching of Jesus, to its signification for them, and the first parable is really conceived to illustrate this. In the former case, the parables shed light on the different sides of the subject, and all the details contribute to an exhaustive course of instruction upon it. In the latter, on the other hand, it is the objects which led Jesus to teach in this form at all that are set before us. The one is a didactic piece, the other a narrative from the life of Jesus. Hence the conjecture that two records existed, both of which contained the chief parable, but which for the rest belonged to different categories. And this gives us the basis of a correct explanation of the Synoptic relationship between these sections.

We are all the more entitled to regard the parable of the Sower, the common property of the narratives, as a reliable historical reminiscence. The supplementary passages bear, at least in part,

i.e. as regards the parables of the Mustard Seed and the Leaven, the same stamp of originality. It is different, however, even with the parable of the Tares. It bears evidence in its contents of being an experience from the life of the Church, and in its relation to the first of forming a supplement. From the very nature of this form of instruction, the discussion of one parable leads naturally to the invention of others; interpretations develop into fresh parabolic material. The second series appended to the explanation of the Tares, the parables of the Treasure, the Pearl, and the Drag-net, also afford scope for such conjectures. In any case the collection gives us an insight not only into the way in which the tradition operated, but also into the method of editing passages for definite didactic purposes. We are not dealing here with distinct commands, but with the impressing of a creed on practical life, the fruits of the teaching received, the perfection and Divine nature of the cause. The whole then found its application in the conduct of the disciples to one another in their corporate existence. The less it is combined with formal exhortations, the more faithfully has the tradition preserved, even in its form, actual reminiscences. It is involved in the genius of this form of instruction, however, that both in the course of the parable and in its explanation the personal application was left to the hearer. It is to be observed, besides, that the first series in Matthew—the Tares, the Mustard Seed, and the Leaven—carry us involuntarily into the primitive Church. They found their most direct use in the relations of that Church to the nation.

Another section of discourses, in its foundation of high antiquity, has been preserved in Matt. xviii. We must, in examining it, disregard the historical introduction, and this we are justified in doing, because, between ver. 5 and ver. 6, the words pass at once from the children to believers, who are then designated as 'the little ones.' We cannot regard even the dispute for priority as the original introduction to the sayings; for a distinction of ranks is directly implied in them. On the other hand, the whole series is characterised from verse 6 by a real

unity. The reception and appreciation of obscure believers, the appreciation especially of converts, then the restorative treatment of the erring, the union of the Christians for common action—all this, in spite of the looseness of the connection, has its central point; for the whole refers to the conduct of the disciples to each other; the sayings teach the nature of their communion, and are binding commands for the behaviour to be observed within it. There is indeed a certain difference in detail, and in the arrangement an advance from the more general union in faith and morals to definite usages and customs; this may imply a continued development of the material. What is essential, however, may be regarded as a reminiscence from the life. And the piece that contains these discourses is, with its definite object and its use to instruct the disciples in the nature of their communion, a vivid proof of the collection of sayings for the special wants of the community. The fact that such a doctrinal piece was in use is, besides, further confirmed by a synoptic parallel. For in the great discourses in Luke a corresponding chain of thoughts is linked together from Luke xv. 4-7 (Matt. xviii. 12-14) to xvii. 1 f., 3 f., although the passage has been essentially remodelled. How the piece in the first Gospel could, however, be placed under the introduction, Matt. xviii. 1-5, becomes clear from the parallel narrative section, Mark ix. 33-50, Luke ix. 46-50, which follows another though allied point of view, and is in part continued in Mark in a similar way to that in Matthew. What distinguishes the discourse in Matthew is the intention of its original form. The instructions in it are to be referred to the Apostles, and give them directions for their conduct to the Christians dependent upon them, and for their treatment of errors in their midst. The Apostles are thought of as patterns for the Church. From this it is obvious that we have here a compilation of Jesus' sayings for practical wants of the primitive Church.

A second group of parables is further to be distinguished (xxi. 28–xxii. 14), containing those of the Two Sons, the Vineyard, and the Supper. The central point is formed by the parable

of the Vineyard. According to the united tradition of the Synoptics, it is a historical reminiscence; it was known that Jesus had by this public declaration in Jerusalem taken up His position against the ruling powers in the nation, and that His action had produced a far-reaching effect. But the composition in Matthew shows that this parable also became the central point of a didactic piece, in which Jesus' view of the people and its rulers is given in various parables, and which therefore showed the Church its true attitude to the outer world, its freedom, and its hope. The collection, in its form in the Gospel, contains portions, however, which belong to a late period, and has therefore in any case been much revised (cf. xxii. 7). The case is similar with the parable of the Labourers' Hire (xx. 1-16), which can be regarded as an elucidation of the saying in xx. 16.

Especially instructive for the origin and character of these discourses is the so-called Pharisee discourse in Matt. xxiii. Once more there can be no doubt that we have here, not a speech transmitted as a whole, but a compilation, found by the author of the Gospel in that form. The first section is an address to Jesus' disciples, the second one to the people, and still more to the Pharisees present. The Evangelist, who certainly perceived this, has taken advantage of it (xxiii. 1) to introduce the whole with the words: 'Then Jesus spoke to the multitudes and to the disciples, saying.' The kernel of the didactic piece adopted by him is formed by the seven woes addressed to the Scribes and Pharisees (ver. 13-33). This piece is also preserved in Luke xi. (39) 42-48 (52), though in a somewhat altered form, which may be easily recognised as the work of a second hand. In Matthew it is a voice from the life, from the life of Jesus, but also from that of His first disciples, the primitive Church. Such a series of woes may be referable to Jesus Himself, although the tradition has become a free imitation.

Now this judgment of Jesus upon the Scribes and Pharisees was by itself applicable to the life of the disciples; it erected a

permanent partition, and contained in the rejection of the false principles the doctrine as to the true way. This application was, however, to be made still more intelligible; the judgment of Jesus first became really a didactic piece for the Church when combined with other sayings which were addressed to the disciples themselves, and taught them the duties incumbent upon them in relation and in opposition to Pharisaic usages. These latter sayings are therefore also put first; they state the aim, and the address to the false teachers thus becomes of itself an explanation of this aim. In the first section, therefore (vers. 2-12), two commands are given. First, the disciples are not merely, like the Pharisees, to preach the law and make it irksome, but they are themselves to observe all that they teach to be a duty. Secondly, they are not, like them, to seek honour and power, but simply to serve. These are not, however, merely general commands for the Church. On the contrary, the spirit of the primitive Church speaks quite distinctively in them; the legal precepts imposed by the Scribes are not blamed; the disciples are not pronounced free from them; they are rather to distinguish themselves from their opponents by their genuine observance of them (xxiii. 3, cf. 23). But an appendix (34-39) is added to the main section which corresponds completely to the intention of the whole; for while it in the first place rounds off the preceding judgment, it also conveys to the disciples that they must only expect persecution from the Scribes. The plan of the whole is, especially in the relation of the first part to the second, the same as that of the Sermon on the Mount in Matthew. The revised version of the didactic piece in Luke xi. has not retained it complete; it has also provided it with a historical introduction, according to which the words were spoken at table in the house of a Pharisee, and were suggested by the reproach that Jesus had neglected to wash before dinner. This version of the matter is plainly artificial.

§ 4. *The Discourses in Luke.*

Something similar is true of the great majority of such introductions in Luke's Gospel, especially in the part which contains the great groups of sayings (x.–xviii.). They neither furnish a clear motive nor a situation that we can realise; they show all the more that the compilations of discourses themselves were already complete, and were only provided with certain prefatory notes; these are as far as possible from restoring a historical sequence of events. The motley composition which, in spite of this attempt at a continuous narrative, rather gives the impression of confusion, or at least of an unarranged mass, obtains a certain form, only if we distinguish groups which reveal themselves by the intention to meet definite wants in the Church. Throughout, however, certain characteristic traits, constantly recurring, are to be recognised, which point to the position of the Church and to critical questions which agitated it.

The Sermon on the Mount in Luke came into the hands of that author in its present form. It at least contains nothing which would lead us from its tone to attribute it to the Evangelist; there is nothing which deserves to be called Pauline or Gentile Christian. This Evangelist was also at a loss how to conceive the conditions under which this discourse was delivered. He makes it begin as an address to Jesus' disciples (vi. 20); it afterwards, however, contains words spoken to the people (vii. 1), and Luke here calls them, singularly, *πάντα τὰ ῥήματα αὐτοῦ*; it would be impossible to state more clearly that he had received them in the form of a collection. Now this collection was very evidently welded together from all sorts of fragments—in some cases they had been inserted quite recently (vi. 27, 39, 47), and in others the disconnected portions are merely combined by the simple *καὶ*. We have no right, however, to attribute this to the Evangelist, on the supposition that he was drawing from a tradition still indeterminate. Of any such tradition there can be no question at all. The whole discourse reveals so many inequalities, and the sayings

are throughout so far from being self-explanatory, that we must assume that we are dealing with a whole which has already had a history as a whole.

That the discourse is very closely related to Matthew's Sermon is incontestable. The grounds for holding that it is a later revision of the same model are, however, overwhelming. This we see even in the introduction, the Beatitudes, which are here reduced to the half, while, on the other hand, four woes are added to them by way of antitheses. If we have formed any view at all as to the spirit of Jesus' own teaching, then these woes are not in harmony with it. They present themselves, however, in their very form as antithetical elucidations of the Beatitudes, just as other discourses admitted into the Gospel are also provided with explanatory additions and phrases. And, judging by their contents, they sprang almost unmistakably from a tendency developed in the Church. This dependence, however, betrays itself also in the very next section. The artificial transition (ver. 27), 'but I say unto you who hear,' cannot conceal the want of a starting-point for what follows; the whole exhortation to love their enemies is delivered in opposition to other principles, to a doctrine that knows nothing of this. The only explanation is to be found in the antitheses in Matt. v. Thus the Sermon at once reveals its dependence exactly in what is peculiar to it.

If we review its whole development we find as a further peculiarity, apart from the modification of the Beatitudes, the restriction of the general commandments to the love of our enemies; and to this are then appended special rules of life as to lending, judging, giving, and trading; finally, we have commands and principles in reference to the inner life of the Church: the warrant to teach, charitable judgment, the distinguishing marks of a genuine disciple, and then the conclusion as in Matthew. The composition as well as the selection and form of the details points to definite wants and aims. Here we have, above all, the sharp antithesis between rich and poor; the Church plainly felt itself to be the society of the poor in contrast to the rich who surrounded it.

From the same situation sprang the rules for commercial intercourse; though poor, they could distinguish themselves by unselfish honesty and unreserved charity. It was now necessary, however, to discriminate in the Church itself between the warranted and unwarranted, between the genuine and the false. Here the discourse entirely coincides with the latest portions of Matthew's Sermon on the Mount. On the other hand, the whole of the discussion in Matthew's version with Rabbinic learning and Pharisaism has disappeared.

In the great book of discourses in Luke's Gospel (ix. xviii.) it is sometimes difficult to perceive the connections and divisions. But, on the other hand, it is indisputable, that in the midst of the mass of material, apparently gathered together without method, we find every now and then in certain connections allied materials, pieces of similar contents, or even of similar tone, following each other; only the boundaries at which one subject gives place to the other are always difficult to determine. These observations indicate that undoubtedly complete didactic pieces formed the foundation, but that the whole has been welded together by the reviser—probably the Evangelist—the joinings having been obliterated in the process. Only sometimes do these systematic pieces recall in their aim and contents those of Matthew's Gospel: in part they are new.

The sending of seventy disciples in Luke x. is a parallel to the instructions to the Apostles in Matt. x. The commands as to their journey are directly employed in the former. What follows—first, the woe pronounced upon the Galilean cities, then the thanksgiving on the return of the seventy for the revelation to the babes—elucidates the vocation of the missionaries. And we may also perhaps assign to the same purpose the next sections, the Samaritan, Mary and Martha, and, finally, the directions to the disciples how to pray: possibly, also, the preceding sayings in c. ix. as to following Jesus. The mission of the Evangelists is in any case the kernel round which allied materials have gathered, and the piece only proves that, after as before, doctrines were

combined in accordance with the same thought expressed in Matt. x. The materials, however, are differently selected, and the object is no longer quite the same. The seventy 'others' are not indeed to be regarded as missionaries to the Gentiles, but they signify the extension of the apostolate, and that by itself indicates a new age, with its greater wants and freer movement. This goes a good way to explaining the choice of materials in the passage. Artificially combined, their chief significance consists in their intention to justify the novel element in the period. There is nothing in this to carry our thought beyond the confines of the mission to the Jews.

In Luke xii. we come upon a didactic piece whose kernel agrees with the exhortation in Matt. vi. to serve God perfectly, uninfluenced by anxiety or love of the world. What precedes and follows—the division of the inheritance and the rich man, on the one hand, the waiting of the servants for the Master, and the true householder, on the other—is closely connected with it in thought and imagery, but leads us further. Probably the still earlier discourse as to confession, and the later as to dissension on account of Jesus' teaching, belong also to this section. However important may be the lessons against riches and anxiety, yet the theme obtains a loftier application through its reference to the vocation in the Church. The sayings and thoughts here comprehended may be applied to the service rendered in the Church according to its various duties and prospects: just as, on the other hand, the didactic piece (c. x.), already discussed, may apply to the service of the missionaries of the Gospel. Even apart from this possible reference the two pieces supplement one another in various ways.

A striking example is contained in c. xiv. of unity of aim secured among the apparently disconnected parts of a section of discourses by attaching loftier references to the immediate and obvious, *i.e.* by an equivocal, a symbolical use of the latter. In this passage we have, first (ver. 1-6), Jesus at table in the house of a Pharisee, with an act of healing on the Sabbath; second, by (ver. 7-14) moral rules applicable to hospitalities, enjoining

modesty on the guests, and the unselfish dispensing of invitations on the host; thirdly (ver. 15-24), the parable of the Great Supper. The immediate connection of the whole is given in the conception of the supper as history, as the subject of commands, and as parable. But the combination goes deeper. The aim of the whole passage is contained in the parable, accordingly in the Kingdom of God. And to the Kingdom the rules of life also relate; the host who invites the poor with no prospect of return acts in the spirit of the Kingdom of God; in the modesty of the guest we may see the loftier reference to humility before God. Yet these points are not merely to be taken symbolically; the exhortation to such virtues retains its direct application. In order, then, to explain the piece, we have to discover an occasion that would necessitate the discussion of the whole subject; this, however, brings us to the common meals in the primitive Church. The whole passage, the social regulations, as well as the view of the Kingdom of God under the figure of the supper, presents so many texts, or rather the combined discourse presents a single complete text, for instruction concerning the common meal. The document was composed for use in the instruction of the Church in this matter; the wants of the most important usage of Church-life gave rise to it; it is to be understood as a didactic piece meant for this purpose. Even the introductory section (ver. 1-6) lends itself to this. The meal in the Pharisee's house was a theme current in various versions, and was fitted to form the historical introduction; the cure of the man with dropsy has a symbolical significance, which at once points to the Holy Supper and its deepest meaning.

The didactic piece which begins in Luke xv. has already been shown to be a parallel and revised version of that in Matt. xviii. Luke's begins with the recovery of the lost, and apparently dwells on that part alone. In xvii. 1 ff., however, the sayings as to offences and also as to the treatment of the erring brother follow. Of course, it may be doubted whether there is any longer a connection here; for the parables of the Unjust Householder and of

Lazarus come between. However, it is in the first place unmistakable that the two parables are closely allied, both in the colouring of the representation and in language, with the Prodigal Son. They might also, however, be related along with the latter parable to one idea, for they still treat of the position of the lost. Thus, therefore, they have both been inserted under cover of the prodigal son, whereby undoubtedly not only has the connection become looser, but the new matter has absolutely thrust the old into the background. For the rest, these sections belong in any case to the latest portions of the collection of discourses in Luke's Gospel. They not only possess the characteristic breadth of description and smoothness of style, but they also reveal an entirely new species of discourse; they are not parables, but pregnant and instructive narratives, doctrines in the form of an example. And, in addition to all this, the thought and the doctrine point in fact beyond the primitive Church. Especially significant is the manner in which the ancient saying (xvi. 17, 29) as to the permanent validity of the law is employed; the saying endures because it means that the law exists to convert the sinner.

It is only the extreme offshoots of this collection of discourses, however, which contain new additions of the kind. The majority of the didactic pieces still belong to the primitive Church. Only the situation of the latter has changed. The conflict with the pedantry of the Scribes is avoided. It is now much more pertinent to regard the Church as the oppressed, but for that very reason the Divinely chosen, section of the nation. Within the Church tasks have become much more varied; these also must be embraced by the words of the Lord. When we consider the zeal with which the seventy 'others' are ranked with the twelve Apostles, we feel ourselves in the midst of that Church from which the Christus-party and its emissaries could come.

We have no means of answering the question whether such a new revision of these didactic pieces could attain the full authority of the older version, or how in this respect it stood as to use by the Church. We must never forget that Paul quotes

words of the Lord which we do not possess in our Gospels, and that similar quotations long continued to be made. For this reason it is impossible to speak of these compilations of discourses being furnished with a fixed authority in the Church.

From the beginning the tradition consisted not in mere repetition, but in repetition combined with creative activity. And from the nature of the case this activity increased as time went on. Elucidations grew into text. The single saying was multiplied with the multiplication of its uses. Or the words were referred to a definite case and correspondingly modified. The discourses in Luke furnish more abundant illustrations of all these points than those in Matthew. Finally, words were inserted into the text of Jesus' sayings, especially in the form of instances, of narrative, which were only meant to make His utterances more distinct. But it is always to be observed that we know of very little of this sort, which points to another place of origin than the primitive Church. From this we see that the vast proportion was formed under the influence of the living tradition. It was only in the primitive Church that the right and the impulse to 'shape' the tradition existed.

Two circumstances are of outstanding significance in the history of the tradition of Jesus' words before the rise of our Gospels. In the first place, even in these early times it did not remain merely personal reminiscence and communication, but served the Church as law and doctrine, and was accordingly put into the form of didactic pieces. In the second place, however, this was done in a spirit and amid associations that prevented the rise of a binding letter. Otherwise the tradition would have been simpler, and would perhaps have adhered more strictly to the actual words of Jesus. As it happened, we have first to expiscate these from the strata of the tradition, while, on the contrary, the latter is itself a source for the history of its bearers, of the primitive Church. But it has thus become at the same time a monument to the wealth of that Word—a wealth which was attested from the beginning by its infinite power of adaptation.

§ 5. *The Narratives.*

When we turn to the narratives of the life of Jesus we are wholly dependent on the contents of the Gospels. The Apostle Paul refers indeed to the descent of Jesus, to the history of His death and resurrection, and also to the institution of the Lord's Supper; but he mentions no events in His Life. The former belong to the doctrine of redemption. For the rest, it is only the fact of His life as man that is considered. That Paul has nowhere made the use of the details of the life that he has of the sayings of Jesus is explained by his standpoints and aims; it also proves, however, that in comparison with the compilations of discourses these narratives formed an independent species of the earliest tradition. They do not even admit of a natural transition from the one class of passages to the other. It is perfectly true that the discourse-sections have also been provided with historical introductions, and been combined with one another like a chain of special occasions. But we have only to compare this sort of narrative, as it is abundantly exemplified in Luke x.–xviii., with the genuine historical pieces which have passed as common property into the Synoptic Gospels, in order at once to perceive the fundamental difference. In the former case we are dealing with a meagre setting of the sayings, in the latter the narrative presents us with independent scenes which speak for themselves, and in which the utterances are part and parcel of the record. The second fact which we have to notice is that these portions of our Gospels did not come into the hands of the Evangelists as a confused mass of separate materials, but as didactic pieces, each of which was composed of a distinct group of narratives.

These groups were not first invented by our Evangelists. As they stand in the Gospels they have been edited in various ways; none of the Evangelists has adhered to them absolutely. We can still certainly perceive, however, in spite of all divergence in the treatment of the groups, that certain narratives—two, three, or more—have, in each instance of their being used, retained their

mutual cohesiveness, and have kept together. To these belongs especially the group which embraces the cure of the paralytic, the call of a tax-gatherer to the apostolate, and the fasting of John's disciples, as also that containing the stilling of the storm and the possessed Gadarene, and, further, the group of Sabbath histories. That this cohesiveness cannot in general be attributed to the incidents being contemporary or consecutive is indisputably evident in the last case, the Sabbath histories, whose unity is that of a class. The assumption of historical sequence involves us also in most cases in insoluble difficulties. We must assume it as a rule that the narratives were first of all independent, and were then combined into such groups. And this can only have been done for didactic purposes. Some sort of activity on the part of Jesus—an aspect of His intercourse with men, a verification of His calling and of His mission—was thus to be indicated. Chronology had, as a rule, nothing to do with it. So far as we see, the historical writers were the first to attempt a chronology. Only separate pieces present of themselves a historical moment; so, above all, the group which depicted the earliest appearance in Capernaum; then the narrative containing Peter's confession, as the decisive expression of the Messianic faith, and the accounts of the last days. In these cases the historical crisis is of itself a didactic piece. And even in such historical didactic pieces a definite arrangement hardly existed at first. They were only gradually formed into a collection at all.

This characteristic of the narratives as didactic pieces also explains the fact that they were manifestly, just like the discourses, freely treated and moulded. We must not represent this practice under the idea that the narrators' object was to produce exact history. The influence of the aim and the deliberate editing with a purpose were inevitably much more marked in this class than in the sayings. The most striking proof of the revision is, first, that the histories are also repeated, when while certain variations appear these are only such as cause no doubt as to their identity, and secondly, that an Evangelist has in turn

omitted one of the accounts, simply because he has perceived it to be a repetition. We may recall the duplicate narratives of the miraculous feeding, or the parallel accounts of the storm and Christ's walking on the sea, an instance not quite so manifestly yet really pertinent. We meet, however, not only with duplicate applications and the remodelling required by the purpose to which they are put, but also with what is virtually free invention. Whenever it was necessary to render distinct a power, an attribute, or an activity which belonged to the idea of Jesus as conceived by faith, then not only were reminiscences amalgamated and magnified, but the narrative was absolutely invented on a certain objective foundation of belief; the example then grew into parable. Narratives like the miracle of the Walking on the Sea, the Possessed Gadarene, and very specially those of the miraculous feeding of the multitude are manifestly of this character and origin. Of course these narratives have to do in a marked degree with the miraculous. But it is not a question of the invention of great and striking miracles, meant to prove the power of their performer; the narrative developed of itself from a certain belief; what Jesus had been and was for that belief expressed itself in an allegory, as happened in the Gadarene history in reference to the demons and the heathen mode of life. Luke shows how this was regarded by the Evangelists themselves, as he substitutes the parable of the Fig-tree for the Blasting of the Fig-tree.

We must also add that the visions of memory soon became remote through change of place. The histories all refer to Galilee. They were told and collected however in Jerusalem. This explains the fact that the conception of localities soon became very indistinct and colourless, and moved among generalities: the mountain, the sea, the city and the desert. But with the remoteness of place, the home-land of the narrative became also the scene of ideal projections, of the glorious as well as the hideous, of devoted fidelity and embittered enmity, and above all of the miraculous, which harmonised much better with the retirement

of the country than with the actual surroundings in the great city, and for that very reason busied thought and imagination.

For the rest, different strata may be distinguished in this species of didactic piece, as well as in the discourses. It is still possible plainly to recognise them in our Gospels. The narratives of the first stratum, as it lies before us, still show Jesus in His regular activity, in the work of His calling, in His intercourse with all sorts of men. Although what emanates from Him is often miraculous, yet it is pre-eminently personal action or communication, and therefore it is distinct, capable of being realised. As regards the characteristics of the later stratum, it is enough that in it the principal narratives are the two instances of the Feeding of the Multitude and the Transfiguration. Here already allegory prevails; the action recedes, and with it the personality, which in what is told becomes itself the subject of demonstration and of proof. All possibility of representing the event, still open to us in the instances of healing, ceases here; nor can we any longer conjecture on what of actual reminiscence, of actual occurrence it may have been based; we only see what the faith in Jesus that created these narratives sought to express by them. And yet the Feeding must have been told in the lifetime of a crowd of Galilean witnesses: the Transfiguration, while Peter and John were still active. The rise of such histories can therefore only be explained by the fact that their Master had become a subject of their teaching, and that this form of teaching aimed not at history, but at the symbolical representation of His nature. How little importance was attached to strict accuracy in reporting an event is shown by the same fact being told, sometimes in one way, sometimes in another, and thus being employed in different didactic pieces.

Those narrative groups which are to be recognised, and disentangled from their context with the greatest certainty, also amply indicate the aim that has made them didactic pieces. At the same time we must not expect a sharp demarcation, such as

would only be possible in the case of a complete whole created on a certain plan and with precise divisions.

Thus in the group—the Cure of the Paralytic, the Call of the Taxgatherer, the Question as to Fasting—we have not merely a collection of disputes, but really histories in which Jesus' Messianic vocation finds its characteristic expression. It was possible from both points of view to combine the Sabbath histories with them.

So also the sections, the Storm, the Gadarene, Jairus' daughter, along with the Woman with the Bloody Issue, form a group, because they give a complete view of the Messianic power; first the power over nature, then authority over demons and heathendom, and, lastly, beneficence and healing among the chosen people.

The conditions are somewhat different with regard to the piece in which Jesus' first appearance in Capernaum is related, and which contains the Demoniac in the Synagogue, Peter's mother-in-law, and the Leper. Events are here combined which were related in point of time; it is the history of the beginning of Jesus' ministry. But the unity from the didactic point of view is self-evident. The irresistible, overpowering character of this beginning, the necessity with which everything is accomplished and by which Jesus Himself is impelled point to it. It is the thought of the Divine mission bearing its own credentials, forcing conviction, as it could not but do, at its very first manifestation.

Among the later groups are the two which alike begin with the Feeding of the Multitude, and in which the similar order or variation in their colouring of the pieces combined necessarily points to the motives of the combination. The Feeding itself shows Jesus at the climax of His power: He gathers the people together and has gifts for all—all are satisfied. Then follows, in the one case, the attack on account of ablutions, in the other, the sceptical demand for signs: in both, opposition and unbelief; the contrast only throws the preceding glory into stronger relief.

And the subsequent citation in both cases of fresh miracles and good works means that no opposition can stop His labours. It is further worthy of note in the first group in particular—the Feeding of the Multitude, the controversies as to the washing of hands, and the account of the Syrophoenician woman—that we have three narratives and discussions as to bread and the table. We are thus at once reminded of the style of the pieces composed of discourses, and this agrees wholly with the fact that in this second stratum the allegorical and therefore the teaching proper predominates. This section is a didactic piece for the usages at table quite as much as the *logion* in Luke xiv.

Now as we have had in the above instance the climax of Jesus' active life, we find afterwards the crowning point of His revelation in the great piece which begins with Peter's confession; the Transfiguration and the Announcement of the Passion immediately follow. The shadow, however, is absent no more here than there. But in this instance it is not cast from without, but from within the circle of the disciples themselves—in the narrative of the futile attempt at a great cure on their part. Even this shadow only heightens the light. The moral is obvious. This revelation remains inoperative where complete and perfect faith does not exist.

It was long perfectly well-known in the ancient Church how these narrative groups were to be understood. This is quite clearly expressed by the presbyter from whom Papias (Eusebius, *Hist. Ecc.* iii. 39) derives his statement: that Mark's Gospel was based on the reports of Peter, ὃς πρὸς τὰς χρείας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς διδασκαλίας. This informant finds fault with Mark's procedure, alleging that he was deficient in completeness and therefore in arrangement. The former point is accounted for by a comparison with the other Gospels. The second objection is wrong. Mark's arrangement is the best. He presents most accurately the compilation on which the Synoptics were based. But the presbyter was besides aware that this book was composed of separate pieces, and that the compilation was not always reproduced in the same

form, but that the order was changed and the matter increased. The outline still recognisable from Mark's Gospel shows such discernment, however, in the arrangement of the whole, that its ascription to Peter's disciple cannot but be supported by it.

The history of the Passion belongs undoubtedly to the oldest narratives. But it forms to some extent a class by itself. We are not dealing here with examples; it was also freshest in the recollection. On the other hand, however, it is in a very marked sense essentially a didactic piece. To justify the event from prophecy was the leading point of view, which had to be more or less expressly followed out. On that the belief in Jesus depended. But how strong was the motive, apart from this, to represent Jesus in the most sacred relations, to hand down His image to devout contemplation.

An advance is in any case to be observed in the narrative pieces as well as in the discourses. The older still show Jesus more amid the immediate tasks and antagonisms of His life. Soon the view taken of Him was generalised, and became a representation of what He was for faith. On the other hand again it became more restricted. He was made to assume a relation to new questions rising out of the Church life. Conservation and free development went hand and hand in the narrative-pieces as in the discourses. The fantastic, the visionary entered slowly. Here also, however, elements are to be observed which are calculated to recall the thought and action of the Christus-party in the second period of the primitive Church. The inherited claim to this tradition could become a dangerous weapon. To this the early end in Jerusalem set a limit. The Ebionitic continuation of the Church carried on this work also; but in its isolated position it had no longer the old importance. What concerned the main body of the Church might be regarded as finished.

§ 6. *Conclusion.*

Our Gospels have indeed adopted what was essential. What was told and afterwards transcribed from Jerusalem for the pur-

poses of the mission was only a small part of the actual experiences: simply because the didactic pieces were alone circulated. Even these were no doubt more numerous and more extensive than those in our possession. The Evangelists, the historians, not only collected but sifted. Luke tells us their method, and what he says applies substantially to the other two. Their relation to their sources was the same. These, ascribed to the eye-witnesses and made use of by the first preachers, lay before them also in the same form.

Our three Synoptic Gospels were all composed, although at different dates, after the destruction of Jerusalem, and thus are subsequent to the Apostolic age in the stricter sense, subsequent therefore to the productive period. Since the termination of the latter was constituted naturally, it is also probable that the exclusive circulation of certain main types contained in the oldest records was closely connected with it; and this would explain quite satisfactorily the intimate relationship of the Gospels. At the same time, however, we are entitled to presume that Luke was acquainted with his predecessors. As regards the latter, Matthew certainly made the first attempt at a history, *i.e.*, he was the first to edit the whole existing material in the sources. In other words, he combined the two divisions, the compilation of discourses and the narratives, inserting them in sections into one another. It is otherwise with Mark's Gospel, whose author manifestly knew the discourses but made very little use of them—limiting himself rather of set purpose to the combination of the narratives. The idea would hardly have been possible, however, if this limitation had not been also exemplified in the source which lay before him, and on which he has made little alteration, and if collections of discourses had not even then existed side by side with the narratives. The third Evangelist has reverted to the procedure of the first, as regards the combination of the two classes of sources; his method, however, though resembling the older plan, still differs from it, the author having plainly come to the opinion that a special section of Jesus' history was contained in his collec-

tion of discourses. He is not only the latest editor, but also the one who has wrought most by the help of conjecture. All three Evangelists are essentially alike in one respect: their ideas are universalist, though in various degrees. This helps us to understand why the Ebionitic Church, the legitimate successor of the primitive Church from which the tradition arose, composed its own Gospel. Not only did the purer tradition pass from the primitive Church into our Gospels—its development was ever intrinsically consistent with the original, a fact attested by a comparison with the degenerate Ebionitic form.

CHAPTER III

ROME—THE ROMAN CHURCH

§ 1. *Paul and Rome.*

At one period in his life the Apostle Paul definitely intended to go to Rome in the immediate future (Rom. xv. 25-29). At the time he had only one other task to accomplish before doing so, viz., to go to Jerusalem with the proceeds of the great collection from Macedonia and Achaia. That over, he would set out towards Rome, and travel by Rome to Spain. In all probability these words were written by him in Corinth. The Acts mentions the same intention somewhat earlier (xix. 21), when Paul was still in Ephesus, and was preparing first to return to Macedonia and Achaia; it preserves, however, the connection of the visits, viz., that the journey to Rome was to follow that to Jerusalem. It tells, besides, that after the Apostle had been put in prison in Jerusalem, he received from the Lord by night the assurance that he should testify of Him in Rome as well as in Jerusalem (xxiii. 11). For the rest, it is hardly conceivable that Paul should not have much earlier entertained the idea of visiting Rome. Since entering upon the great Gentile mission, he manifestly aimed at extending it like a net over the provinces of the Roman Empire, and the task which he had set himself could find its natural completion in the capital alone. He has also expressed this, however, in the letter to the Romans. It had long been his purpose to visit Rome, long the subject of his wishes and prayer (i. 10-15, xv. 23). Perhaps it had already loomed before him when he first

came by Macedonia to Corinth, where he was in a position to hear all sorts of information about Rome. Instead of going there, however, he went first to Asia Minor; why, we do not definitely know. But when we realise his subsequent fortunes in Ephesus and the complications in Corinth, we find in them enough to explain his having been compelled to postpone the execution of his earlier intention (Rom. i. 13).

Yet these events are not to be regarded as the only cause of Paul's being prevented. When he first entertained these intentions with regard to Rome, he meant to introduce the Gospel and to found the Church there as he had done in Macedonia and Achaia. To do so was his vocation as Apostle to the Gentiles, the supreme aim of that vocation. But now the situation there had long been altered. The Gospel had reached Rome and been firmly planted and a Church had been founded without his co-operation. The progress of the Gospel had therefore anticipated the Apostle in the very place to which his Gentile Apostolate seemed to afford him a wholly special title. He had thus, in a certain sense, lost his right. If we refer to the original delimitation of the mission in Gal. ii. 9 this inference might be open to question. Then he agreed to limit himself to the mission to the Gentiles, while similarly his rivals, the primitive Apostles, reserved to themselves that to the Jews. According to this principle, Rome would still have been open to him, if the Church there had been founded by Jews and been confined to Jews. In that case the vast heathen population still remained as a field for his labours, and the city was wide enough to embrace if necessary two different Churches side by side. Yet this is in reality hardly conceivable. Judaism had so great a following there of Gentile proselytes in the looser sense of the term, that even a Jewish Christian Church would soon necessarily extend of itself in that direction; an absolute separation of the spheres would hardly have been possible.

The original division, however, had not been able to maintain itself in its first form; it had long since, by the very course of

events as well as by arbitrary actions, been in part broken, in part essentially altered. Even in Antioch it had encountered the fact that Jews had attached themselves to the Pauline Church; there the division had been disregarded in anticipation; it could only be restored in the form of a violent schism. This one example is enough to show that the manifold aspects of actual life seldom permitted the preservation of the absolute boundary. It can also be proved for a subsequent date that in the Pauline mission at least this boundary was fading away. Even in the Churches planted by Paul, Churches which, from their essential composition, can without qualification be designated as Gentile Christian, we find the names of Jewish members. The division was, however, disregarded in a wholly different way from the moment when the Judaists began to intrude into Paul's Gentile Christian Churches, in order to attempt a second conversion, and to substitute another gospel for his. Paul defended his right against them, not merely the truth of his Gospel, but also his claim to his own institution, to his own sphere—not, however, in the original sense.

He had changed the ground of the argument when he appealed to his having been the first-comer, and to his having won by the fact of his labours the exclusive warrant to this sphere. How emphatically he vindicated in Corinth this new principle, forced upon him by the exigencies of the position, yet only to be carried out of his own accord! When he defended himself against these new teachers, he did not require 'to stretch himself out beyond due bounds, like one who had not reached them; for he had come, and come first, even as far as to them with the Gospel of Christ. He did not need (like others) to talk at random on the field of another man's labours; on the contrary, he could hope that his own work would on this field procure for him a growing success, which thence would carry him still further, without his requiring to seek his renown on a stranger's ground, where the work was already done' (2 Cor. x. 14-16).

These are the points of view employed here by Paul for the

defence of his action and the repelling of attacks. He no longer speaks of Jews and Gentiles as the subjects of the mission, although as a matter of fact the question turns on these two spheres. He relinquishes the vindication of his claims to the Gentiles; he demands nothing but a recognition of the work he has accomplished, and to be left unmolested in carrying it on. The second point is, that he asserts himself only according to the measure (of his labours) which God has assigned him as his limit (x. 13). After the Apostle, however, had once set up these principles, they were binding upon himself, and prescribed his boundary for him. No matter how manifestly the sphere belonged from its nature to his own peculiar vocation, he could not henceforth appear and preach the Gospel on ground which had been wrought successfully by others and on which their work endured.

Now, this was exemplified in Rome, and the application of the principle remained equally imperative whoever had originated the Church there. Paul was not the man to evade this consequence. He made the application himself in his characteristic, inimitable way, as he was compelled to write to this Roman Church (Rom. xv. 20 f.). He could indeed write to them and that with all candour. So far, at any rate, extended his inalienable warrant and mandate as Apostle to the Gentiles, 'the grace which had been bestowed on him by God that he should be a priest of Jesus Christ among the Gentiles, in the sacred service of the Gospel of God, in order that the Gentiles should become a sacrifice, well-pleasing, sanctified in the Holy Spirit' (xv. 15 f.). But although he had carried out this vocation in its fullest extent and widest range from Jerusalem to Illyricum (ver. 19), it had always been a point of honour with him not to preach where Christ's name was already known, in order not to work on the ground of another (ver. 20). And that is only the introduction to the explanation, which he owed to the Romans themselves, how he had not hitherto visited them. All other hindrances he ignores. He names this one alone; it had ever kept him away, could not but keep him away (ver. 22). Even now, when announcing his visit, he did

not deny the binding principle. He had, as he says, no longer room in these regions; the work was completed in Greece as in Asia Minor. He had therefore to go farther—to the west; not, however, to Rome for the purposes of his mission, but to an untouched, unclaimed sphere beyond—to Spain (ver. 24, 28). Rome he would visit on his way, not as a preacher of the Gospel. The Romans, he hoped, would assist him for his journey to Spain. He would only stay long enough among them to learn something of them, to satisfy himself with their company.

Thus he remained perfectly faithful to his own principles. And yet he now found himself indisputably in a dilemma; with all his abnegation he was ever conscious that, as Apostle to the Gentiles, he had a duty to discharge in relation to this Church, as well as a right to do it. And he has given expression to this dilemma in the opening of the letter in order to lead up to the fact of his writing; he required first to establish his authority for doing so. He says, in reference to his visit to them, that with all his desire to go he had always hitherto found himself prevented (i. 15, 10, 13). Even, however, with regard to the aim of his visit he expresses himself in two different ways. Recognising thoroughly the Christianity already possessed by them, he says he would fain impart to them some spiritual gift that they might be confirmed; this he explains at once, however, to mean that his object was only an interchange of encouragement through their mutual faith (ver. 11, 12). On the other hand, he again speaks of his wish to proclaim the Gospel to them in Rome (ver. 15), in order to have some fruit among them also, even as among the other Gentiles (ver. 13). His Gentile Apostolate he cannot abdicate in relation to them. It is his duty that draws him to them: 'to Greeks and Barbarians, to wise and ignorant am I a debtor' (ver. 14). Thus, then, his first and predominant feeling got the upper hand, and ousted his dread of even appearing to intrude upon another's rights. That he had now to say, in order to justify his approaches to them. He had certainly a special reason for explaining why he had not gone to them; his remaining away could well be em-

ployed as evidence against him. He had so much the stronger motive to reveal his higher warrant and his mental attitude towards them.

§ 2. *Origin of the Church.*

We have no information as to the origin of the Church. The supposition that it was founded by one of Paul's disciples is simply a conjecture, even when it fixes on definite individuals, the gaps in whose history, as in the case of Titus, leave space enough for such an enterprise; for the examination of the letter, to see whether it favours such an opinion, gives no affirmative result. The Apostle's words as to the renown of their faith (i. 8), the agreement implied in the interchange between him and them (i. 12), and the confidence and hope felt by him in prospect of his visit (xv. 24, 29), are much too general to permit of the conclusion that his readers were familiar with his doctrine and belonged to his school. Another expression used by him (vi. 17) might influence us most in favour of this view. He speaks of the impossibility of his readers seeing in the grace of the Gospel a warrant to sin; he thanks God that they have been transferred from the service of sin to that of righteousness; he then appeals to the τύπος διδαχῆς, the exemplar of a doctrine of corresponding character, to which they were led and had shown themselves heartily obedient. It at once becomes obvious, however, that we are not compelled here to think of a doctrine emanating from the school of the Apostle. The words do not convey more than was involved in every form in which the Gospel was preached; it was its moral contents of which Paul was thinking, and these were present under all circumstances. The passage is similar to vi. 3 ff., in which he appeals to baptism, without our being compelled to assume that the readers had been already made familiar when they were baptized with the Pauline doctrine of the rite. There is not a trace in the whole letter of a historical reminiscence of the founding, the early Gospel of the Church, to say nothing of the individuals who conveyed the Gospel; and yet

such a reminiscence would have been pertinent enough to the aims of the letter. On the contrary, the wide range of his course of thought, the careful proof of his first propositions, everywhere give ground for the conjecture that Paul was conscious of saying something new to the Romans. Not a trace is to be found of any laying hold of beliefs already existing, of a given foundation; not a breath to indicate even an indirect, an incipient connection with the Apostle.

Now, while formerly the prevalent tendency was to attribute this preaching of the Gospel in Rome to Hellenists who had either come from Jerusalem, or, being inhabitants of Rome, had visited Jerusalem and there become acquainted with the Gospel, this opinion also is no more than a conjecture. It has, however, at least this advantage, that there is nothing in the contents of the letter or in the attitude of the Apostle to contradict it, and that it is on the whole most natural to think of Roman Christianity as taking its rise among the Jewish population of the city. A confirmation, not indeed certain, of this opinion may be found in the well-known statement of Suetonius, the biographer of the Emperors, in his Life of Claudius 25, where he says: *Judaeos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit*; that is, if we interpret the words 'impulsore Chresto' to mean that the Roman Jews quarrelled publicly over Christ. That an otherwise unknown disturber of the peace named Chrestus had appeared, or that the Jews infuriated one another and got to blows over theoretical Messianic disputes, is at least as improbable, as the term Chrestus was early current for Christus. And without doubt the conjecture is a possible one that the controversy regarding Christianity has become through a misunderstanding on the part of the historian a controversy instigated by a certain Chrestus. If we adopt this interpretation we obtain confirmation of the view that Roman Christianity began in the synagogue; on the other hand, however, we should also have to conclude that it gave rise there to conflicts which may possibly have changed the situation at an early date, and have originated an independent

position on the part of the Church. Since, however, the whole event is obscure, especially in view of the inconsistency with it of other reports of the expulsion of the Jews (cf. Acts xviii. 2; Dio Cassius, lx. 6), and since the date is also undetermined, the inference is not of much weight. It may at any rate serve, however, for a warning to the effect that essential changes can possibly have taken place in this Roman Christianity at a quite early date, and in any case before the composition of Paul's epistle. We may draw absolute conclusions neither as to the membership of the Church at the date of the letter from the presumptive origins of its history, nor as to the nature of these origins from that membership.

§ 3. *Membership of the Church.*

Now in view of the meagreness of our knowledge as to the planting of the Roman Church, we must certainly depend upon Paul's own letter for the determination of the character of its membership, as the Apostle knew it. We ought not to consider the question whether this Church was, from its essential composition, Jewish or Gentile Christian in the light of general presuppositions. The fact that Paul wrote at all to it is undoubtedly *prima facie* unfavourable to the opinion that it consisted of Jewish Christians; we must suppose that even then he still adhered in the main to the limits of his Apostolic sphere. This is not, however, decisive, simply because we are dealing with Rome, and the Church planted in the centre of the heathen world possessed for him this significance that it could either promote or impede the objects of his vocation. On the other hand, the opinion that it was Jewish Christian is suggested by Paul's having written to it with the greatest detail concerning the law, works, circumcision, and the rights of the Jews. But this conclusion would also be too hasty. The Galatian Churches were, like that of Corinth, Gentile Christian, and yet Paul had occasion to write similarly to them upon these topics. The only question

is whether, supposing their composition was of the same nature, it is possible to recognise a similar historical cause. Finally, there is another general reflection by which we are just as little entitled to let ourselves be influenced, namely, the doubt as to the possibility of the existence here of a great Gentile Christian Church, founded neither by Paul nor a disciple of Paul, and therefore destitute of the Pauline Gospel. We are in the habit of distinguishing between Jewish and Gentile Christianity, as if the latter wherever it appeared was of Pauline origin. We are entitled to some extent to do so, because the extension of the Gospel among the Gentiles was indisputably inspired first by Paul. No one can say, however, how long the work was confined to his labours. No one can maintain that the foundation of his doctrine remained the only form in which a universal Christianity might exist. The facts alone can decide the point.

All mere conjectures and conclusions from general presuppositions are, however, also superfluous in this matter; the Apostle's definite statements are of such a nature as to leave no legitimate doubt.

In the first place, Paul has stated in the greeting and in the introduction of the letter that the Roman Christians belonged to the Gentiles, and he has rested both his writing and his previous intention to visit them on the very ground that as Gentiles they belonged to the sphere of a special Apostolate. He says in the greeting (i. 5, 6): 'through whom (Jesus Christ our Lord) we received grace and apostleship, unto the obedience of faith among all nations for His name's sake, to whom you also belong as called to be Jesus Christ's.' In the first introductory section, however, after speaking of his interest in them and his desire to reach them, he continues (i. 13-15): 'I am anxious, however, to tell you, brethren, that I often purposed to come to you—though hitherto I have been hindered—in order that I might have some fruit among you, even as among the rest of the Gentiles; I am debtor to Greeks and Barbarians, to wise and ignorant; hence the readiness on my part to preach the Gospel also to you in Rome.'

According to the unequivocal language of both passages Paul included the Roman Christians among the ἔθνη. It is impossible to translate, in i. 6, ἐν οἷς ἐστὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς, by 'among whom ye dwell.' For the phrase would then be objectless: the point is that they belonged to the sphere of his mission, and that he was entitled to write to them; if they had been Jews, the fact that they dwelt among Gentiles would by no means have given him this right. It does not matter, however, whether we translate ἔθνη by 'Gentiles' or 'nations.' As in Paul generally, so especially in Romans, the nations are the Gentile nations who do not possess the law (ii. 14), who do not strive after righteousness (ix. 30). They are the antithesis of the Jews (iii. 29, ix. 24, xi. 11-25). When Paul (i. 6) adds κλητοὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, in the phrase 'to whom you also belong,' the addition to the subject ὑμεῖς makes absolutely no change in the meaning. All it conveys is that those addressed are undoubtedly, as a matter of fact, Christians already; he could no longer designate them simply as a section of the Gentiles, and required to state that they were so only by descent—not, however, in respect of religion; the meaning is therefore: 'you Roman Christians indeed belong also to the Gentile nations.' And thus he proves that he writes to them in virtue of the mission conferred upon him by God, in the ministry of the Gospel to all Gentiles.

After this it is also impossible to regard the nations to whom Paul had been sent as missionary (i. 5, 13) as the whole of the nations of the world, and therefore as comprehending the Jews—an idea that has been taken to denote a new modification of the Apostle's universalism and an irenical phase in his attitude. This conception would also see an accommodation on his part in his designation of the Gospel (i. 16) as the power of God unto salvation to every one who believes, to the Jew first, and also to the Gentile, and in his thus conceding to the Jew that his right came first. But this claim never was questioned by Paul, any more than by anybody else throughout the whole period. The only question was whether the right was exclusive. Paul's

universalism consisted in his having disputed this, and in his having maintained that the Gospel was meant also for the Gentiles, and that as Gentiles, without a preliminary transition to Judaism. He not only maintained this, however: he carried it out in his missionary labours. His sole reason for undertaking and cultivating the Gentile mission as a special sphere was that he began with it, and that, from circumstances, the separate promotion of the Jewish and Gentile missions was a necessity. He never combined with this hostility to the Jews or their mission. The thought that the Gospel was designed for all nations, the Jews included, would have been meaningless to him, for it never could have been in question. If, however, he sought to turn to the Jews himself, he did not need to found his doing so on the universal destination of the Gospel. That the latter belonged to the Jews was involved in the law itself; for it was the law by which they were led to Christ (Gal. ii. 19). And the Jews were distinguished through what they were by nature from the Gentiles who by nature were sinners (Gal. ii. 15). Besides, Paul had never, because he was the Apostle to the Gentiles, simply renounced all attempts to influence the Jews; for them he had rather his own method (1 Cor. ix. 20). When, on the other hand, he speaks of the ἔθνη as the subjects of his vocation, he certainly understands by them the Gentiles, and when he derives from this vocation the right to turn to a church, to any body of men, these can only be Gentiles. And, as regards the letter to the Romans, everything in it points so strongly to his Gentile Apostolate, that he founds upon it the hope that his success among the heathen might have the effect of making the Jews jealous, and might thus bring them to the Gospel. Thus he says (xi. 13 f.): 'Inasmuch then as I am an Apostle of Gentiles, I should deem my ministry the more glorious if I could make those of my own flesh jealous, and save some of them.' It is only this indirect effect that he has here in view, and he addresses the words to the Gentiles in order to make them realise that the prior claim of the Jews is to be regarded as inalienable. What attracted him to the Romans,

however, was the very nature of the vocation which directed him to the Gentiles (i. 13). Among the latter were comprehended (i. 14) Greeks and Barbarians, wise and ignorant; of Jews there is not a word.

Just as incapable of being sustained is the idea that the Jewish Christians of Rome appeared to Paul from their geographical position as a section of the great Gentile Church (i. 6), and that they thus came within the sphere of his vocation, in so far as they became the means through which he could begin to act upon the Roman Gentiles. When he speaks of his intentions with regard to the Romans, he does not distinguish between his readers and the Gentiles in the city. He has told them (i. 9-12) how dear they were to him, and how deeply he longed for a personal meeting with them. But not only so, 'he may and must say that he had often proposed to visit them, in order to have some fruit in them as among the other Gentiles.' They were not the means by which to influence the Gentiles; they were themselves the Gentiles on whom he meant to act; it is his readers whom he reckons with the other Gentiles. It was not to other, heathen Romans he longed to preach the Gospel, but to those to whom he was writing (i. 15), because they belonged to the class to whom he felt bound under his vocation (i. 14).

In the second place, Paul has spoken quite as definitely of the descent of his readers in the conclusion of his letter, where he resumes the statements of the introductory section (xv. 15 ff.). When he there tells them that he had written 'freely,' properly 'more boldly,' we may fitly complete his words with: more so than they indeed expected, or than was implied in his relation to them. It is not necessary, however, to explain this by supposing that they were Jews; the complete and only correct explanation is that they were unknown to him. But he does not excuse himself; he rather justifies his action, and that once more on the ground of his Gentile Apostolate (xv. 16): 'because of the grace which was given me by God, that I should be a minister of Christ Jesus among the Gentiles, in the sacred service of the Gospel of God, that the

Gentiles might be an offering, well-pleasing, sanctified in the Holy Spirit.' Accordingly he did not mean by this that his special vocation might explain why, in his correspondence with them, he championed the cause of the Gentiles so conspicuously; it was not in this that his boldness lay, but in his having spoken to the conscience of his readers themselves (ὡς ἐπαναμιμνήσκων ὑμᾶς, xv. 15). It is still less possible to take out of his words that, in thus dealing with them, he was perfectly conscious that his legitimate vocation was his Gentile Apostleship, and was therefore bearing him elsewhere. On the contrary, it was on account of this vocation (διὰ τὴν χάριν) that he had thus spoken to them. With this the further expedient also falls to the ground, viz., that he sought, by influencing the Roman Christians, merely to secure the antecedent condition, the foundation, in order that he might afterwards promote the Gentile mission in Rome. He speaks of no aim except that connected with them; they had indeed been heathens and become Christians; but the point for him was that the Gentiles should be made a really acceptable offering; and that came within his vocation. There is nothing in the whole passage, however, about an intention to set up his seat in Rome in order there to carry on his mission among unconverted heathens. On the contrary, he did not mean to stay long in the city, but rather to travel on to Spain. All that he sought in Rome was to visit the Church 'with the fulness of blessing' (xv. 29), and 'to refresh himself with them' (ver. 32), *i.e.* by the interchange of which he has already spoken (i. 11, 12). We can therefore find nothing, even in his words in xv. 15 f., except the justification from his Gentile Apostleship of his turning to the Romans. And the necessity he feels of repeating it here, and his stating it with a certain qualification, are entirely due to the fact that Rome had not hitherto belonged to his field of labour.

In the third place, in the section chap. ix.–xi., in which Paul discusses the fact of Jewish unbelief, he has explicitly addressed his readers as Gentiles. The opening of this remarkable dis-

cussion is purely objective. It merely begins by solemnly affirming the truth of the assurance that the subject is one of the deepest concern to him. It is only when he has reached the close, and is giving the solution of the problem, that he turns to his readers to tell them the lessons they are to take to heart (xi. 13). Here, however, he addresses them with the words: 'But I say to you Gentiles.' Consideration of the fact that the vast majority of the Jews meet the Gospel with unbelief first requires an explanation, and that from two points of view, namely, from the unrestricted choice of the Divine will, and from the perverse pursuit of the law on the part of the nation; this is however followed by the assurance that the nation has not been abandoned by God, that it is rather to expect deliverance, and that the present preference of the Gentiles must itself contribute to that deliverance being secured.

Here, again, it would only mislead us to attempt to decide from general ideas for whom this observation was written. Thus it is perfectly true that Paul enters into the discussion of his subject, as if he intended to defend himself. This, however, does not imply that he was addressing Jews by birth, but merely that he had occasion to discuss the matter with his readers, and to defend his own conception. Still less does it follow from Paul's expression of hope for the future of the Jewish people that his readers were Jews, because he thus gives them consolation, while, conversely, the words would be somewhat offensive to the Gentiles. These considerations are all too petty for Paul, who wrote to please neither Jews nor Gentiles, but always said what he believed, and in this very passage was overpowered by the flight of his loftiest thoughts. They are also, however, perfectly futile, because the Apostle has expressed himself with absolute perspicuity on every point in question. The query, what it could all mean for the Gentiles, was raised and answered by Paul himself (xi. 13), and he has explained its consequences for them—the prospect of the resurrection to life, which would take place at the ultimate deliverance of Israel: the warning against an arrogant assumption of

superiority over the Jews: the menace which the fate of the Jews contained also for them: and the knowledge of the final marvellous ways of God. All this he says to his readers; it is the practical application of the whole preceding presentation of the case. The application consists solely of this one for the Gentiles; for the Jews Paul made none. Nor can it be said that one is implied in the discussion of the subject, and that this was written for them. On the contrary, it is everywhere evident that, while indeed he is speaking about the Jews, it is to Gentiles. It is only he himself who belongs to the people whose destinies are being discussed. His kinsmen according to the flesh are the Israelites to whom the sonship belongs (ix. 3 f.). How does he prove that God has not rejected His people? He himself is the living evidence (xi. 1): not a word to show that his readers also prove it: not a single hint, therefore, of a change of front on the part of the Apostle when he (xi. 13) addresses the Gentiles. From beginning to end it is all cast in one mould; one and the same conception runs through the whole; everything is said to the same people.

Our conclusion is that, wherever the Apostle is addressing the Roman Church, and referring to its actual membership, he addresses them as Gentiles by birth. It is not to be denied, on the other hand, that he also addresses Jews in the course of the letter, and that he regards his readers as under the law. This, however, does not affect the answer to the question as to the origin of the latter. For in none of these cases is their origin discussed; the statements belong to the didactic section of the letter; the Jew is addressed when account is being taken of the claims of Judaism; the law is applied to the Roman Christians, when God's universal dispensations of law and gospel are under discussion. The expressions in question are therefore partly rhetorical, and partly dogmatic.

Jews and Greeks are the sum-total of humanity, placed, according to ii. 9, 10, under the dispensation of the law and of retribution, and (iii. 9, 10) equally included under sin. The Gospel is (i. 16) equally designed for Jews and Greeks; they have (x. 12) the same

Lord who is rich unto all who call upon Him. God is the God of the Gentiles as well as of the Jews (iii. 29).

When the Apostle argues that in spite of their knowledge of the law the Jews transgress it like the rest, he personifies Judaism, addressing it as the Jew who relies without reason upon the law (ii. 17).

When he argues that the law is no longer binding upon the Christian, his words apply to the Gentiles as well as to the Jews: the Roman Christians have become free from the law through the death of Christ, whether they were formerly Gentiles or Jews (Rom. vii. 4). Until the Gospel came the sovereignty of the law overshadowed the whole world. 'When the fulness of time had come,' continues the Apostle (Gal. iv. 4 f.), 'God sent His Son, born of a woman, made under the law, that He might redeem those under the law, that we might receive the sonship.' By these words Paul did not understand the Jews; for he infers from them that the Galatian Christians had become, and knew that they were, sons; they had, however, been heathens. As certainly as Scripture had determined all under sin (Gal. iii. 22), all had been in bondage to the law (ver. 23). And this bondage had been transformed by the Gospel into liberty for all alike, for Greeks as well as Jews. Paul has given utterance to this genuinely Jewish conception in a variety of ways: in his declaration in Rom. ii. 14 f., that as a matter of fact the Gentiles have also their law in the form of the inner voice; in Gal. iv. 9, that the Jewish law as well as heathenism involved subjection to the elements of nature. The same thought expressed by him in Gal. iii. 23 ff., iv. 4 f., he applies in Rom. vii. 1-6: the jurisdiction of the Thora extended over all men. According to Jewish or Judaistic teaching, it was so still; hence arose the demand that the Gentiles also should submit to the law for the sake of their own salvation. While Paul disputed this demand, it did not occur to him to say that it had never been in force for the Gentiles, but only that it was now no longer in force, because it had been annulled by the death of Christ and baptism. In this sense his readers had also

died to the law (Rom. vii. 4), through the body of Christ, whether formerly they had been Gentiles or Jews. The opposition between their former and their present life was at bottom the antithesis between flesh and spirit (vii. 5, 6).

At the same time, we must not forget that this argument is directed against the intention of imposing the fetters of the law upon these Christians. When, therefore, the Apostle refers specially to the fact that the law rouses our sinful passions, and speaks of the ancient service of the letter, his words have the same bearing as in Gal. iii. 21 f., 2 Cor. iii. 6. From the same relative position is also to be understood the fact that the Apostle explains from the law itself its abrogation through the death of Jesus, *i.e.* explains it by means of the dissolution through death of the marriage-tie (Rom. vii. 2 f.). And in doing so the Apostle indicates besides that he was not dealing with born Jews; for he says (vii. 1): 'I am speaking indeed to men who understand something of law.' The words are most naturally explained if this knowledge was not native to them, but had been acquired. Finally, however, we must not forget that the section vii. 1-6 is immediately connected with the argument as to the law (vii. 7 ff.). To his ascription of the law to flesh and sin (vii. 5 ff.) is appended the apology that he does not think of the law itself as sin. Who would, however, maintain that this psychological exposition of moral experience merely referred to Jews?

We have still to mention the specious argument that when Paul (iv. 1) calls Abraham 'our forefather' he is addressing himself to Jews. We might as well regard the Corinthian Christians as Jews by birth, because Paul (1 Cor. x. 1) calls the Jews who came out of Egypt 'our fathers.'

Apart from the passages here discussed, it is impossible to discover anything that could even dimly suggest that the members of the Roman Church were originally Jews. Of course, this only proves the essential or predominant composition—that which gave its character to the whole. Even in the Churches founded by Paul himself there is no suggestion of a purely Gentile member-

ship. This may be presumed still more in the present instance; for, in the first place, the Church was certainly not based on a fundamental doctrine so explicitly stated as we find in Paul's Epistles; and, secondly, its probable origin suggests a mixed composition. And, in fact, indications that it was of such a nature are not wanting in the letter.

These indications are all to be found in the hortatory section. A considerable part of the exhortations is devoted to union and absolutely to the unity of the Church. The first division of this section (chap. xii.) has the comprehensiveness of a table of universal Christian duties, yet through it all there runs, like the woof in the web, the reference to union. At the beginning of the special exhortations stands (xii. 3) the warning against arrogance, and the call to mutual recognition of believers as members of the one body (ver. 4 f.), and the writer returns twice to the subject: in his recommendation of eagerness to pay honour (ver. 10), and of the mutual admission of all to equality in their own thoughts (ver. 16).

But, further, the exhortation, xv. 7-9, comes under this head. The Apostle has already counselled his readers, in relation to a particular case, to be at one in the patience and good understanding of love, referring also to unanimity in praising God, and he now continues: 'Therefore receive one another as Christ also received you. For I say that Christ came as minister of the circumcision for the truth of God, in order to confirm the promises to the fathers; the Gentiles have, however, glorified God for His mercy.' Since the subject here is the coming of Jesus for Jews and Gentiles, it is natural enough that the exhortation of the Roman Christians to accept one another should also suggest the relations of Jews and Gentiles. But the example of Jesus cannot be transferred so directly to the members of the Church. For what is said of Jesus Himself does not convey that He adopted, that He 'took in addition' (προσελάβετο) both Jews and Gentiles. In the case of the Jews it is not a question of adoption. He came on their behalf, because by the promises they possessed the right to His coming; it was the Gentiles, and only the Gentiles, who

were adopted or 'accepted in addition,' because their acceptance was based on mercy alone; and accordingly the following texts deal exclusively with them. When, therefore, the Church is addressed in an earlier passage in the words: 'as also Christ has adopted you,' it is thereby designated as Gentile Christian alone. The example, however, which Paul set before them consisted solely in compassionate love, and this affected them especially, because it was only by this love that they were what they were. We cannot, therefore, infer directly from these words that the question at issue was the overcoming of the opposition existing among them between Jews and Gentiles. Yet this reference is not to be altogether excluded, because the reminder of the twofold relation involved in Christ's mission was hardly chosen without a purpose. If the readers were interested in the fact that they were while Gentiles adopted through mercy, then it was especially incumbent upon them to cultivate the same disposition in relation to those who had a right to Christ. This is in perfect harmony with the direction which Paul gives them (xi. 13 ff.), that, seeing they are late-comers, they are not to glorify themselves. In that case they would certainly be regarded as forming the majority of those on whose attitude the common peace depended. The actual relations, however, to which this refers can only be seen from the previous section, the intention of which is here summed up.

The key to the Apostle's whole insistence on union is to be found in the section xiv. 1–xv. 7. In this passage we meet in fact with two parties which despise and judge each other, and whose disunion threatens the work of God with destruction, and the Church with disruption. The subject of the controversy does not appear with perfect clearness from the Apostle's exhortation; he has not entered so definitely into the facts as in other instances, where he is writing to one of his own Churches. He may have intentionally spoken with greater caution, seeing that he was not on ground with which he was personally familiar. Still, his statements are at any rate precise enough to let us see the situation in its essential features. The opponents are not named; they are

contrasted with one another under the epithets of 'the weak' and 'the strong'—*i.e.* weak and strong in faith and conscience. The difference is represented, however, not as a difference in the faith itself, but in the view taken of the practical duties involved in the faith. Two matters are in question,—food and days. The strong recognised no commands, or rather prohibitions, regarding food: they ate indiscriminately; the weak, on the contrary, held certain kinds of food to be forbidden and unclean: they limited themselves to the use of vegetables and avoided flesh and wine. We learn nothing as to the days, except that the weak distinguished between them, while the strong regarded every day alike. From the nature of the case, the strong despised the weak, even feeling themselves justified in using compulsion, while, conversely, the weak judged the strong, holding their action to be condemnable.

The parties were not equal, however, in number and importance. This is certain from the exhortation being chiefly addressed to one of them. The very beginning (xiv. 1) is conclusive; for the Church is, as such, called upon to receive (προσλαμβάνεσθε) the weak. Accordingly, the strong were at all events in the majority, and held the power. The minority may have obtained their strength from the standpoint represented by them being one of conscience. In the first place, then, the call to tolerance and mutual recognition is undoubtedly addressed to both parties: they are to recognise one another as Christians who are all to account to God for their conduct. Then, however, the exhortation enters on a second section at xiv. 13; and in this it is the strong alone to whom the duty of toleration is especially brought home. Paul is able to address them the more unreservedly as he reckons himself one of them (xiv. 14, xv. 1). They are convinced that nothing is unclean. They are, however, to consider the conscientious scruples and the doubts of others, and not to please themselves under a sense of their own superiority. They are for love's sake to let the others alone, nay, to go so far as themselves to refrain from eating flesh and drinking wine if the weak brother takes offence at such things. Their highest point of view is to be that

of edification. The whole passage is worked out exactly like the counsels, given by Paul in 1 Cor. in regard to sacrificial flesh, to those who were 'the strong' in that Church.

There can be no doubt that the strong, who according to this formed the great majority in the Roman Church, were converts from heathenism. It could not be said of Jewish Christians that they had faith to eat all things (xiv. 2), that for them nothing was unclean (ver. 14). The Apostle reckons himself one of them. This only completes the evidence for the Gentile Christian character of the Church.

It is much more difficult, however, to discover who those designated the weak were, and whence they derived their principles. Their opposition to a liberty which was familiar to Gentile Christianity points at first to Jewish Christians. But they are not to be explained from the Judaistic movement with which the Apostle Paul had himself to deal in this period; for that which was a matter of conscience to them did not originate in the law, which certainly forbade neither flesh nor wine. Their principles accordingly had no connection with the question as to the necessity of the law, discussed by the Apostle in the greater part of his letter. Their doctrine was, therefore, even in his eyes, not one to be reprobated. Had it been founded on the validity of the law within the sphere of the Gospel, he could not have described them as weak, and their opinion as showing a conscientiousness which, though erroneous, was yet worthy of respect and required to be tenderly treated. Scholars will always be tempted, therefore, to refer this view to wholly different sources, to sources within the heathen world. There in fact existed at the time an asceticism distinguished by abstinence from flesh and wine, and so widely diffused as a philosophical and religio-ethical ideal, that this account of the origin of the party presents no difficulty. Yet it is nothing more than a general conjecture; for there is absolutely nothing in the sketch given by Paul to point to a definite doctrine or sect; and any conception which prohibited the use of flesh on account of the sacredness of animal life or of the transmigration

of souls is precluded by the indulgent verdict of the Apostle. Similarly we know nothing of any such custom having been combined with the consecration of set days. This latter feature itself refers us rather to Judaism: and not this merely, but also the circumstance that, in his discussion of the food question, Paul makes use of the categories of clean and unclean, *καθαρὸς* and *κοινὸς* (xiv. 14, 20), which inevitably recall the conception at the root of the decrees as to food in the law. The conjecture, then, arose that while we were not here in presence of Judaistic legalism pure and simple, we were face to face with a modification of it which rested on the influence of a Jewish sect; and for this Essenism could alone be brought forward. But, as has been shown, it cannot be proved that the use of flesh was prohibited among the Essenes. Even the Ebionitism of the second century yields no declaration to this effect; though, according to the pseudo-Clementine Homilies, it recognised both forms of abstinence, yet it cannot even be proved that they were implied to have been already habitually practised; and, in any case, we do not obtain from this a reliable support for the explanation of a phenomenon belonging to so remote a past.

Under these circumstances we can understand how many should have contented themselves with the view that in this phenomenon we have an independent development within the new Christian faith, a modification whose rise could be readily explained, especially on Gentile Christian soil, from general motives. The consciousness of having undertaken wholly novel duties, the call to a complete transformation in life (cf. Rom. xii. 1 f.), could lead without other influences to such an extreme abstinence from sensuous enjoyment. We are not limited, however, to this last expedient, and we may hardly limit ourselves to it, in view of the indications which point to some sort of connection with Judaism. Jewish Christian zealots they certainly were not who agitated for nothing in particular except the selection of food, and the celebration of holy days, and who could not be reproached with disfiguring the Gospel through the service of the law. The two former

points were, however, the most important features in the customs of the Gentile proselytes of the gate, those called in the New Testament σεβόμενοι τὸν θεόν. Though the latter did not undertake to keep the whole law, nor bind themselves to it by circumcision, yet they observed the Sabbath, and submitted to the commandments about food; and while these commandments were indeed kept in different degrees, and for the most part imperfectly, yet it is not difficult to conceive of some going a greater length than was required by the law itself. Here, then, it was not so much the definite prohibition of the law that prevailed, as the conception that had been awakened of the purification of the natural life by a choice of food. The opinion that such proselyte usages were transferred to and were developed within the Christian Church, explains most naturally the two facts which we have to combine, namely, that, on the one hand, 'the weak' were connected with Judaism, and that, on the other, they neither were Judaists, nor were regarded as such by the Apostle Paul.

Accordingly, what we learn from the Apostle about the parties in the Roman Church does not lead us to the conclusion that a Jewish section occupied a prominent or even a considerable position in it. The majority were certainly Gentile Christians, the minority were also Gentiles by birth, who, however, had been Jewish proselytes. And our main inference as to the composition of the Church is thus only further confirmed and illustrated. If, nevertheless, the opposition of the factions threatened to become so pronounced as to be capable of undermining the union of the Church, that affords no reason for doubting the conclusion already arrived at; we have only to recall the wholly similar conflicts in the Corinthian Church. There it was not Jews and Gentiles who confronted one another in the question as to sacrificial flesh, but Gentile Christians of different modes of thought. The question rose entirely out of the adoption of the monotheistic creed. But the other practical question in the same Church also furnishes us with a notable parallel. In the ascetic conception of marriage a striving after abstinence was evinced, which originated solely in

reflection on the Christian thought of the renunciation of the world, and in any case proved how easily similar principles of abstinence might in another direction develop also in Rome.

The exhortation to obedience to the Roman authorities (Rom. xiii. 1-7) gives no ground for the opinion that Jewish pride and craving for independence were rooted in the Church. We should in that case require to assume that even then the danger existed of the Christians being implicated in the broils of the Jews; but we do not learn of anything of the sort in Rome under Nero's reign. It is quite as improbable that the growing spirit of revolt should have been imported from Judaea. The only possible meaning of the Apostle's words indicates that they were suggested, not by national hatred and pride, but rather by a fanatical aversion to the power of the world as one of unrighteousness. The Apostle, who had depicted (Rom. i. 32, ii. 1) the executive and judicial power of Rome as sunk in sin, guards in our present passage against an obvious and dangerous inference from the consciousness of this fact; and he has stated the feelings which were to be overcome in the preceding words (xii. 21): 'Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good.' The whole exhortation bears, in connection with the general advice in xii. 17 f., to have held in view what would necessarily produce the best impression upon men universally, and would thus preserve peace as much as possible with all parties. Paul had kept this aim before him in his Gentile mission from the beginning, ever since his work in Thessalonica. He could not but be, above all, anxious that the believer should avoid everything which might be prejudicial to the extension of the Gospel in the empire, every unnecessary collision with the outer world. And that he was thinking—especially in the case of Rome—not merely of the surrounding society, but of the civil authorities, is self-evident from the character of the capital itself. He may even have been furnished with a motive for his warning by a jealous surveillance or hostile treatment of the Christians (xiii. 3-5). Paul, however, proved his far-sightedness when he urged the Christians in the capital to

show themselves good citizens. He paved the way for the appeal to this characteristic which Justin made in presence of the civil authorities in the following century. The earliest intercession for the Emperor in a Christian prayer, preserved for us in Clem. Rom. 1 *Ad Cor.* 61, is a logical result of Paul's exhortation.

The whole idea which we gain of the composition of the Roman Church compels us further to conclude that it was at the time completely separated from the Jewish population of the city and from the synagogue. This alone agrees with Paul's language in Rom. ix.–xi.; he presupposes as a fact the infidelity of the Jews in the mass; they are regarded as if from a distance. Now, if Paul required to put himself in the position of his readers, it must be inferred that they could have no other conception of their own relationships. Of this state of matters the author of the Acts was also certainly aware when (xxviii. 17 ff.) he makes the Apostle, who had been received into the bosom of the Roman Church, then enter in an extraordinary fashion into a connection with the Jews. Whether the above relationship to Judaism took this form when Christianity was first transplanted to Rome, or whether the latter was first introduced among the Jewish population and afterwards was cut off by a schism, we have no means of saying. It is at any rate the more probable view that the Hellenists who brought the religion of Christ found it easier from the beginning to make an impression on the Jewish proselytes than on the Jews themselves.

The diffusion of the Gospel among proselytes simplifies the explanation of the fact that it was possible for it, without Pauline teaching, to develop itself in Rome as Christian monotheism, thoroughly universal in its character. This fact need not however stagger us, if we remember how many and how capricious were the forms assumed in the case of proselytes by Judaism itself, and how its zealous propagators were frequently content to take what they got and to plant what they could. Paul shows us a proselytism of this sort in the letter to the Galatians: in Galatia it undoubtedly insisted eagerly upon the form of circumcision, but it made all the lighter of the obligations of the law. And even

the hostile Judaists who confronted Paul in Corinth were compelled by circumstances to cloak their designs and to water down their principles more than they could have justified to themselves.

The history of Stephen shows that even in the primitive Church the ways of the new faith could not but produce a greater freedom of thought, manifesting itself in various if yet imperfect forms. This instance, however, is not directly parallel to our present case. The planting of the Gospel in Rome belongs at the earliest to the period of Paul's activity; and we cannot over-estimate the effect which must have been produced by the existence of Gentile Christianity, even where it was only acknowledged as a fact generally known. But we are not wholly without instances of a mission conducted in the spirit of universalism side by side with that of Paul. According to the Acts Barnabas came from the primitive Church; he then became the companion of Paul in the latter's first missionary period, undoubtedly not as his disciple, but by a voluntary advance to him. At the conferences in Jerusalem he took his place beside Paul on an equal and independent footing; he took part with him in the conclusion of the treaty with the primitive Apostles as joint-representative of the Gentile mission. Afterwards, indeed, in Antioch, he fell away from Paul. But his defection cannot have been permanent. Long after (1 Cor. ix. 6), when comparing himself with the primitive Apostles and the Lord's brothers, Paul reckons him on his side; Barnabas observed the same usages in the common life of the mission. We should have been compelled from these words to represent him as still being a companion of Paul, if there had been any other indication of continued association between them in the later period. As it is, however, we can only suppose that he followed out his own plans, yet still representing the same cause as Paul, and capable of being regarded by the latter as his fellow-labourer.

Another man occupied a similar position. Apollos did not proceed from the primitive Church, but as little was he a disciple of Paul. He was a Jew, a Hellenist, probably an Alexandrian.

It is unknown how he came to the Gospel; the Acts expresses this in the narrative which tells how his first acquaintance with it was imperfect, and required to be corrected indirectly by Paul, *i.e.* by Paul's friends. Paul himself suggests nothing of the sort; he recognises his perfect independence and the distinctiveness of his teaching; and yet he is conscious of being in entire agreement with him in the chief points; in their conception of the Gospel, their principles of working, and certainly their universalism, they were alike. Apollos was for a time the successor of Paul in Corinth. He then lived along with Paul in the Church of Ephesus, preserving, however, his own independence.

The two Jews, Andronicus and Junias, again, occupied a position like that of Barnabas (Rom. xvi. 7). They were Jews, and had wrought for the Gospel before Paul: they therefore belonged to the primitive Church; they afterwards joined Paul, however, and not only laboured in Ephesus in the interests of his cause, but suffered with him. They are at least instances of apostles who, though not his disciples, were yet, while moving on their own path, in sympathy with Paul and associated themselves with him. These and others were Jews who one way or another served the universal Gospel which Paul had inaugurated. Gentile proselytes, to be found in great numbers in all the larger cities, undoubtedly furnished the best field for their labours; upon them Paul himself, as was first seen in Philippi, produced the greatest impression. As soon, however, as the cause passed into the hands of such proselytes, the natural soil had been obtained for a Christianity, which remained free from the Jewish law and particularism, without having had to pass through great conflicts and discussions.

From the letter to the Romans we see the ground which the Apostle was able to take up in the spiritual interchange between him and this unknown Church, and from this we have to gauge the knowledge of its members. Paul speaks of perfect monotheism with its antitype in idolatry, and the accompanying corruption of the world; of faith in the crucified and risen Son of God, and the secret of His redemption assured to them through the mystery of

baptism; of their consciousness of the loftiest moral obligations and their hope of the glorious future. It is indeed of the deepest significance that this free embodiment of a pure Christianity could come into existence and arrive at such maturity without the intervention of the great Apostle of the Gentiles. This Church of Rome consequently possessed the greatest claim upon the future.

§ 4. *Judaism in Rome.*

When we turn our attention to the phase in its history which caused the intervention of the Apostle Paul, we might be tempted to say that the Gentile Christianity of the Romans was a premature phenomenon. Exceptional events must have occurred to cause him—with at any rate some departure from his principle never to appropriate a sphere already occupied—to at least write to the Roman Christians, and thus to enter into communication with them: exceptional these events must have been to make him write as he did. While it is certain that Jewish Christianity was not domiciled in the Church, and while the Apostle was far from charging the Church itself with Judaism, yet it is manifest that he opposes Judaistic doctrines and defends himself against them. The whole of the didactic section of the letter is full of a polemic against the Judaists, more complete, more finished than in any of the other epistles, not excepting that to the Galatians. We must not be misled by the fact that there is none of that sort of personal polemic which we find elsewhere. The personal relations with the Church and with his opponents necessary for that did not exist here. Yet the letter is not therefore more irenical, it is not based on a gentler or more conciliatory conception. Nowhere does the Apostle depict in more glaring colours the complete ineptitude for moral purposes of the religion of the law, nowhere does he heap such severe reproofs upon the actual conduct of the Jews. Nowhere does he argue in more rigorous propositions and with more convincing reasoning that this law holds its place only in the sphere of flesh and sin, and that it is the fetter by which

man is bound to a state that only leads to the complete and dreadful realisation of corruption. Nowhere does he refer this strange course of the Divine dispensation so abruptly to the absolute will of God, or show so relentlessly how the mass of the chosen people had forfeited salvation. This actual state of matters is only made darker by the declaration that salvation was destined for the Jews first, and also for the Greeks. The present belonged to the Gentiles, and the hope that God's mercy was still reserved for the Jewish nation was only a remote prospect.

What caused the Apostle to write such a letter? It is no answer to this question to imagine that he felt the need of giving to the Christians of so important a place as Rome a clear and reliable insight into the true nature of the Gospel, or of thus taking stock at a resting-point in his life—at the close of a great period in it—of the thoughts which had hitherto guided him and had now attained complete lucidity. The idea of any such purely didactic or doctrinal aim found no place at all in the work of the Apostolate. Least of all does it apply to a document which with all its dialectic skill is anything but systematically planned, and at all critical points bears so strongly the impress of a controversial writing that its whole connection becomes perspicuous from this point of view alone. The letter to the Romans is a controversial treatise, not only against Judaistic teaching, but also without doubt against a Judaistic agitation. We must not be misled by the observation that Paul does not attack the members of the Church itself. Of course, if these had themselves been Jews, or even Gentile proselytes of a peculiarly Judaistic bent—as has indeed been also thought—then he would have required to take them to task. As it was, however, he found himself, in spite of the difference in circumstances, in a position like that which he occupied when he confronted his opponents in one of his own Churches; he had to deal, in the controversy, with a third party. He did not even direct his address against the members of the Church to the extent customary to him in those instances where he knew accurately

the success of his opponents, and had the beginning of the defection before his eyes. From the nature of the case he was not equally well informed here; the individuals were not before his eyes, and his method had therefore to be determined principally by his subject matter.

If the Apostle, however, now fought with his enemies in this sphere to which he was a stranger, his relation to them was undoubtedly not the same as in his own Churches. The two facts, first, that the Church was Gentile Christian and not of itself Judaistic, and, secondly, that Paul had to refute Judaism in its interest, compel the opinion that Judaistic teachers were on the point of getting a hold of them, and that Paul had been informed of the fact. That this, however, at once appeared to the Apostle as a matter of personal concern calls for a further remark. The Church was as far from being based on Pauline as on legal teaching. Therefore it would certainly seem as if the Judaistic teachers cannot have entered, or at least did not require to enter, the lists against him as in other places. We undoubtedly do not know whether followers of Paul had not appeared in Rome and a collision taken place, and it would be lost labour to begin making conjectures. The urgent motive which lay before the Apostle is explained, as soon as it is in our power to suppose that the Judaists sought to secure admission for their legal Gospel, by citing Paul to show where the Gospel led when preached apart from the law. If this can be proved from its contents, then the whole letter is explained.

We are, as a matter of fact, led to the conclusion that a rivalry had begun in Rome between the two opposite theories of the Gospel. Paul had long had his eyes fixed on the city; he regretted the delay which had been imposed upon him; he could, however, wait contentedly, for, as matters stood, he could regard the Roman Christians as allies, and could hope to enter easily into an understanding with them. But the Judaists had also determined to capture the same goal for themselves. And they had not only reached it before Paul, but had at once so occupied the

ground that they thought they had excluded him entirely from it. That was the situation.

We must here examine a practice of Paul's, which recurs again and again in his letters, viz., the verbal repetition, as a rule without any quotation formula, of utterances made by others, so that they can only be recognised for what they are from their meaning and context. It is clear, though of no special significance for our present purpose, that in 1 Cor. i. 12—in the designation of the partisans—we have a repetition of a description which the Apostle had received as it stands from his informants. But the discussions in the same epistle on the various subjects concerning which queries had been put to him in the Church's letter are interspersed with references to the words of the inquiry. The opening of the discussion as to sacrificial flesh (viii. 1): 'now concerning things sacrificed to idols, we know that we all have knowledge'—is only intelligible on the supposition that the latter contained the statement, that those who held the use of sacrificial flesh to be lawful maintained this to be a necessary consequence of their superior knowledge. Again, 2 Cor. is especially rich in passages similarly inserted, in which his opponents had heaped suspicion, accusations, and contempt upon the Apostle. Thus in iii. 1, he interrupts his argument with the words: 'do we begin again "to commend ourselves,"' and there is no doubt he is entering upon a reproach made by his opponents, by using their very language (cf. v. 12). It is perfectly evident that he is quoting a similar imputation of his enemies (x. 1) in the opening of his exhortation: 'I Paul who indeed "am humble in your presence, but when absent am full of courage toward you."' The same slander is however repeated (x. 10) in an altered form immediately afterwards—this time with a quotation formula, *φησὶν*—'they say: "his letters are indeed harsh and stern; but when bodily present he is weak, and his speech of no account."' He gives (xii. 16) another calumnious assertion of his opponents: 'But be it so; I did not burden you, however "I was only sly and caught you by cunning."' Some phrases are wholly unintelligible unless we

hear in the catchwords the language of the enemy. This is especially the case with *ἀφροσύνη* (xi. 1, 16, xii. 6). How could the Apostle have come without any cause to speak of his stupidity, literally his foolery, which they were to put up with? This instance is exactly parallel to vi. 8, where he calls himself a deceiver. The Galatian letter affords us examples of the same sort. The Apostle twice uses phrases which would be absolutely nonsensical and unintelligible, unless we supposed that he was speaking of a reproach that had been levelled at him. Thus Gal. i. 10: 'Is that'—namely the utterance of a curse upon any other Gospel —'"speaking to please man" or God, or am I striving "to please man"?' Then again (v. 11), 'But I, brethren, if I still "preach circumcision," why am I persecuted?' The only possible explanation is that his enemies had dared to say that he everywhere spoke and acted according to circumstances alone. Gal. ii. 17 lets us see, however, that he also inserted phrases due to others in a purely objective exposition; the two last words in the clause 'we ourselves'—*i.e.* Paul and those who agreed with him—'were "found sinners,"' are certainly quoted.

Now in the letter to the Romans there is at least one place at which, in reproducing an assertion by his opponents, Paul uses quotation words, and it is to be remembered that even in the other epistles he does so only exceptionally. He says (iii. 8), 'Does it not then apply—thus we are certainly slandered and some report that we say—"Let us do evil that good may come"? Now, these are condemned, justly.' We cannot get past this by supposing that this reproach was levelled often enough at the Apostle in the course of his ministry to enable him here to take it for granted. The idea is not at all pertinent that the Apostle was here dealing with well-known controversies, which were current in writing and in speech, and must have been so familiar from literature and conferences that there was no reason for reserve, and that further he had every motive for discussing them. But the words themselves do not permit us to think merely of a current reproach. He does not say simply *καθὼς*

βλασφημούμεθα, but he adds expressly καὶ καθὼς φασίν τινες ἡμᾶς λέγειν, and thus points to definite persons and a definite instance of such a slander. Besides, this reproach was by no means current among his opponents, one everywhere forthcoming. It does not at least make its appearance in the earlier attacks of the Judaists. In the Galatian letter it is Paul himself who raises the warning that the liberty of the Gospel is not to be made into 'the open door of the flesh.' His opponents occupied another standpoint. That the law was necessary by reason of its moral effect was not for them the first point; it was declared to be necessary because it had been prescribed by God. But the reproach that the Gospel seduced men from the grace of God and led to sin was novel. An appeal to this moral consequence, to the moral sense, could seem the more effective and advisable in Rome, in presence of the Gentile Christians. In any case the fact remains that the Apostle thus referred to a slander which had been levelled against him in these terms by definite individuals who were known to his readers. He regarded it as so important that he twice reverts expressly to it (vi. 1): 'What shall we say then? Shall we "continue in sin that grace may the more abound?"' and (vi. 15) 'How then: shall we "sin because we are not under the law, but under grace"?' And in this instance the attack becomes the theme of a prolonged discussion, of a main section of the letter. It is impossible therefore to say that the Apostle is merely inventing these insinuations, in order to make them the thread on which to continue his discussions. We might rather be tempted to think, if the motive had not been clear, that cause had been given him to guard his readers against the misuse of his teaching.

These palpable references to the charges of his opponents are followed by a few others, which only obtain their full meaning when we combine them with the former. Thus we have the question (iii. 31): 'Do we now destroy the law by faith?' and the aside (vii. 7): 'What shall we say then, is the law sin?' Again the sudden transition to Abraham (iv. 1), and his alleged

justification by works, leads to the inference that Paul was thus bringing up for discussion a proposition of his enemies; just as the words as to judging (ii. 1 ff.) also indicate that they advanced the necessity of the law as the foundation of moral judgments.

The question, raised by Paul in vi. 1, is an objection, an imputation of the enemy; it has not risen out of an argument of his own in support of his Gospel. The supposition that, after justifying the latter from the point of view of religion and the history of religion, he was naturally passing on to its ethical justification, involves a distinction between the religious and the moral which is hardly conceived in the spirit of the Apostle. In point of fact, however, the possibility of the thought suggested in vi. 1 has been negatived in anticipation by the previous reflection (v. 1 ff., 12 ff.), and this also implies that the continuation is by no means natural, but can only have been occasioned through the necessity of repelling an attack.

The fact to be inferred from these allusions of the Apostle is, that a representation had been made to the Roman Christians, that Paul taught men to understand by the Gospel a justifying grace which did not make them better, but led them to sin; and that he outraged the Divine institution of the law, not only by disputing its value for the salvation of man, but by absolutely ascribing to it a pernicious effect. Still another reproach, however, must have been levelled at him by the same party. When we consider the sudden transition (ix. 1) to the question as to the destiny of Israel, and the assurances he gives as to the feelings with which he approaches it, it is impossible to doubt that he had here also to defend and guard himself. It is easy to decipher the reproach. It was that Paul, the born Jew, had forsworn his nation and its sanctuary, that he was a renegade; nay, further, that his doctrine of the Gospel could not but result in keeping his countrymen back from it and in destroying their share in the promise.

§ 5. *The Letter to the Romans.*

The letter itself, with its train of thought, the articulation of its parts, and the whole details contained in it, alone gives us a complete insight into the Apostle's intention, and therefore also into the situation he had in view. When Paul resolved to oppose the aspersions and schemes of his enemies in an epistle, because at the time it was still impossible to appear in person, the plan of his letter necessarily led him to give a comprehensive exposition of his Gospel, and that for two reasons. In the first place, in approaching a Church unknown to him personally, he was in the position of a missionary; whatever might be the state of knowledge in the Church, yet it was due to it that he should impart his whole doctrine, if only in the outline which the letter admitted. In the second place, the hostile view presented of him by the other party affected the central point of his Gospel, and therefore demanded in turn a centralised apology, but at the same time a review of the whole. Again, since his task dealt with what was central, it was necessary that the exposition should be arranged on some sort of system, that the thesis itself should not only be developed but proved, and, on the other hand, that its consequences should be shown. The letter as it stands corresponds to this necessary task, and hence we understand how from the first it has produced the impression of being a kind of treatise on the main doctrine, and been judged accordingly. This applies at least to the great section, i. 17–viii. 39. It would appear that we have first a proof, from the fact of the universality of sin, of the necessity of grace and of justification by faith on the part of Gentiles and Jews (i. 18–iii. 20). This is followed by the doctrine of justification (iii. 21–v. 21), first, in general, what it is in itself (iii. 21-31), secondly, in its historical grounding from Abraham onwards (iv. 1-25), thirdly, in its effect in all its comprehensiveness (v. 1-11), and, finally, in its peculiar character as a universal Divine grace in comparison with the all-pervading corruption (v. 12-21). The exposition then passes on to the consequences,

showing (vi. 1–vii. 25) how through the reception of grace the power of sin is broken, and how (viii. 1-39) a spiritual life is produced which, with the perfect certainty of the love of God, uplifts the believer above all the straits and conflicts of our earthly existence. At this point (ix. 1) we undoubtedly enter on the discussion of a particular question, the destiny of Israel. Since, however, this is referred to the free choice of Divine grace, it can at any rate be said that this section also forms a link in the dogmatic treatise which here goes back to the Supreme Cause of the main proposition, and from that illustrates the whole course of history. So at first the plan of the main section of the letter presents itself to our eyes, accustomed to the dogmatic contemplation of the Biblical writings; and this view, if we observe the contents, indisputably has its claims upon us. But when we follow the plan of the letter more closely, we find that it is neither exhaustive nor wholly true.

It is first to be objected that the sections do not keep the separate subjects apart in the way that we should have to expect on the supposition of the above plan. He who would gather the Apostle's doctrine of sin from the letter to the Romans, does not find it merely in the first section; he must rather combine that with what is afterwards said (v. 12-21) as to its power and consequences in mankind, and especially (vii. 7-25) as to its origin and development. This leads, however, to the further observation that the two sections, i. 17–v. 11 (or v. 21) and vi. 1–viii. 39, do not present us with a consecutive treatment of their doctrinal subjects, but are on the whole parallel to each other. In the latter, as in the former, Paul ascends from the fact of sin to that of grace, his course of thought being similar. Undoubtedly the starting-point in the latter is redemption, but the train of thought soon leads him back again to the description of sin, and from this point rises a second time to the nature and fruits of justification. And, similarly, it cannot be concealed that in the section, ix.–xi., the same ascending movement is soon repeated, and we are taken from law and sin to grace and faith. It is there-

fore true of the latter doctrine also that it is by no means confined to one definite passage, that it is to be derived from chap. xi. as well as from chapters iii. and viii. It follows from this that, while the Apostle had a definite order before him, he did not carry it out in the whole length of the letter, but in each separate section of its teaching, and that it was taken up again and again from another point of view. These various points of view, however, were not involved so much in the demands of his own exposition as in motives furnished from without—motives due to the controversy.

We found, from our discussion of the composition of the Roman Church and the Apostle's relation to it, that even in the greeting and the introductory section i. 8-16 he had a definite aim in view, and that this aim was not merely to introduce himself generally to the Church, but also to adopt a certain position; he sought to prove his right to correspond with them, but at the same time to explain his having hitherto kept aloof. And from the desire to explain we can perceive that he was really on his defence, because his staying away from Rome had plainly been represented to these Christians in another light. It is only on this supposition that we understand the words (i. 16): 'I am not ashamed of the Gospel,' words in which he repels, as in 2 Cor. iv. 1 f., the imputation that he simply had not had the courage to go to them. In a style that excites our wonder and admiration he thus secures (i. 16, 17) his theme of salvation by the Gospel for Jews and Gentiles, and of the revelation of the Divine righteousness from faith to faith; the connection thus obtained is not merely skilful, however, but natural, if the rejoinder to the imputation of fear was also a rejoinder to those who taught other views of the Gospel, if accordingly at this transition he kept before him both in defence and attack the same accusers. But in that case the further transition (i. 18) to the portrayal of the Divine judgment upon the Gentiles must be referred to the same slander; he at once shows how unreservedly he condemned the sin of heathenism, though he was not, like his accusers, a supporter of the law.

Now, we cannot fail to perceive that throughout the address which is thus introduced, the Apostle in transporting himself to Rome has before his eyes, not merely the heathen world there, but also the Gentile Christian community. The reminder of the entire curse of heathenism (i. 18-32)—with the special references to image worship, not, indeed, native to Rome, but recently introduced and in course of adoption—with the unnatural vices of the present—and with the inconsistency between the splendid comprehension of law and the frivolity of the drama—is not brought forward without reason, *i.e.*, merely theoretically. Nor is Paul indulging in theory when he recalls the natural knowledge of God in a monotheistic sense (i. 19, 20), and the moral perception of conscience (ii. 11-16). All this serves, on the one hand, to bring him into connection with the Church, and introduces, on the other, the equality assumed for Jews and Gentiles; for the thought that gives unity to the whole is the universal responsibility on which guilt is based (i. 20, ii. 1, 11 ff.). This equality in their position is supported in a marked degree by the perception that the Gentiles also know the law of God and are able to judge, and this gives Paul an opportunity of turning to the Jews (i. 32, ii. 1), in order, *i.e.*, to contest those advantages of the Jews, by whose fame the Gentiles were to be won over to Judaism. Even here, however, it is not in the first place the general proof that the Jews also are sinners that is in question; Paul has particular types in view—the Judaists who hold that repentance is not necessary for them (ii. 4)—the sneaks, who resist the truth (ver. 8)—the proselytisers with their bold and notorious intrigues (ver. 21-24)—his malicious opponents who spread the most shameful slanders against him (iii. 8). He disputes from ii. 1 to iii. 31 the imaginary privileges of the Jews (ii. 11, 17, iii. 1, 27). Neither their knowledge of the law (ii. 17) nor the promises (iii. 1) are of any avail; their law does not even confer an advantage, in excluding boasting by its judgment; another law, that of faith, is alone able to effect this, and it does so for the Gentiles as well as for the Jews (iii. 27-30); through this faith, accordingly, the law in the true sense, that is,

the Divine ordinance, is instituted (ver. 31). This polemic, however, is continued up to the section v. 1-11, precluding also the thought that its means are yet necessary for the justified, in order to protect them in the future judgment-day. Thus this whole address goes on, with its constant reference to the representations used by the preachers of the law to promote their cause among the believers whom they sought to persuade to join them, and we are able to recognise, as it proceeds, all the pleas set up by the party. Their own weapons are turned against them, however, at two points, by means of the proof from their Holy Scripture itself: first, we have the proof of sin which was addressed in the Old Testament specially to the people of the law (iii. 11-20); then the proof of justification by faith as a Divine ordinance, which was instituted from the time of Abraham and David (iv. 1-25).

Thus, then, the whole main doctrine of the Pauline Gospel is certainly contained along with its proof and its consequences in the section of the letter, i. 18–v. 11. But the motive of its presentation is polemical; it is directed against the statement of the privileges of Judaism and of the necessity of the law for the believer. In this connection the Apostle only alludes at one point (iii. 8) to the reproaches raised by the party against himself. But if he here passes rapidly from the subject, the section vi. 1–viii. 39 is devoted expressly to it; only on this supposition do these chapters become intelligible; only on this ground is it explained why in another exposition the same subjects of his teaching are in great measure resumed. The transition is formed, however, by the section, v. 12-21, which compares Christ with Adam, and elucidates the whole history of mankind by the antithesis between the reign of life and that of death; with this all that has preceded is concluded, but at the same time what follows is introduced; for in the above division the law falls into the sphere of death, and the purpose thus assigned to it—namely, that it should complete the transgression—leads to that very inconsistency which was charged against Paul's doctrine of grace. Now, if we only consider this immediate connection, it is undoubtedly

possible to arrive at the opinion, that in vi. 1 the Apostle is merely following out his own thoughts when he puts the question, 'Shall we continue in sin that grace may the more abound?' Conversely, however, it is at least quite as possible, *a priori*, that in making the earlier assertion (v. 20) he already intended to lead up to the discussion of an objection made by his opponents. And this view is enforced by the fact that in the question Paul merely takes up again what he had already quoted (iii. 8), and characterised in plain terms as a false and slanderous charge of the enemy. We have here, therefore, not an objection invented by himself, but an accusation which had been raised against him.

The section beginning vi. 1, however, not only finds in this charge its starting-point for the description of the new life of righteousness which is inaugurated by the death and resurrection of Christ. It proceeds further in the line of that charge just as the preceding section had been threaded upon the recommendations of Judaism. The first sub-section (vi. 1-14) simply repels the false conclusion drawn from the doctrine of grace by recalling baptism as the appropriation of the death and life of Christ; but the Apostle adds (ver. 14), as a sort of challenge, that sin no longer possesses any power over Christians, just because they are not under law but under grace, and he thus introduces the other side of the enemy's reproach, repeating it exactly as in vi. 1, in a question (vi. 15), 'Shall we sin because we are not under the law, but under grace?' The two charges supplement each other: that grace would only be increased by sinning, and that this faith in grace would necessarily lead to sin, if in it the law was to be at an end. The reply to the latter point is now given (vi. 15–vii. 6). We see, however, how far this question of the law was from being involved in the Apostle's own train of thought, from his reply consisting first of the reminder that deliverance from sin had made his readers servants of righteousness, and from his only then (vii. 1-6) discussing the abrogation of the law as a self-evident consequence: a line of thought which proves quite as strongly that his readers themselves looked back not upon the law, but only on

their transition to Christianity. But his opponents' deduction now further compelled him to begin a discussion of the nature of the law (vii. 7) with a new question, 'Is then the law sin?'—certainly a repetition of the charge that he depreciated the law, the summary of moral commandments. Paul's whole exposition (vii. 9-25), his wonderful ethical psychology, can only be understood from the aims with which he wrote. He treats of the law, indeed, in so wide a sense, that under the term we must comprehend not only the Mosaic law, but every moral command, including also that written (ii. 15) in the Gentile's heart, and the experience depicted applies to the life of his readers themselves quite as strongly as it serves to convey his own personal history. This also prepares the way for the transition from the impotency of the law (viii. 1 ff.) to the power of the life-giving spirit which emanates from Christ, and for the development of the thought that the whole point at issue is the antithesis of flesh and spirit. But the complete refutation of all the objections to his Gospel is summed up in his power to say (viii. 14) to his Roman readers, as formerly to the Gentile Christians of Galatia (Gal. iv. 6), that they had through the spirit become sons of God, and were in possession of the glory of the Divine love which overcame all the sufferings of the present time.

It hardly needs proof that in the third section of his didactic exposition (ix.- xi.) Paul is defending himself against a reproach made by Judaists. It is impossible to regard these chapters as a historical review appended to the description of his doctrine. The section is so manifestly apologetic, that an unprejudiced examination of it must necessarily lead to the perception of the aim of the whole letter. Yet it would be an error to stop here, and to confine that aim to the present passage. In fact, if the latter were wholly wanting, we should still possess in the two preceding sections a complete view of the situation, and therefore of the aim. For the first showed the contentions with which the Judaists presented themselves in Rome, the second the manner in which they cast suspicion upon Paul's Gospel. The third adds something

further to our knowledge; in it the question turns on the personality as well as the Gospel of Paul. His opponents came forward as Jews, with the rights and claims of the nation, of the historic religion; the Apostle was characterised as a man who forswore all that should rightly have been sacred to him, and who by his agitation inflicted the greatest harm upon the cause of the Gospel; for this Gospel without law of his could not but be a barrier to the Jews: it could only create enmity in them. That was perhaps their most acute and most dangerous charge on ground where the historic warrant of religions was universally believed in: a religion of no antiquity was held to be inconceivable.

Paul recognised the whole weight of this attack; he felt it all the more that he himself suffered severely enough from the actual state of matters. In the solemn asseverations in which he gives expression to the pain it caused him, recognising all the Divine privileges of his people (ix. 1-5), it is not merely the consciousness of having given a false impression which speaks, but the struggle in his own mind to justify his procedure. He explains the situation in three passages. In the first place (ix. 6-33) he shows that God's word had not failed. The promise did not apply to natural descent—as he had also proved in the letter to the Galatians—and God's choice was of His own free-will. Secondly (x. 1-21), however eager his own desire that it might be otherwise, he cannot conceal the guilt of the Jews. They had gone so far in their false zeal for the law as to speak of the advent of the Messiah as an impossibility, and they had closed their hearts to the offer of salvation. But, thirdly (xi. 1-12), God had not rejected His people. Paul's faith saw further. Not only was a part of the nation saved, but the riddle of their unbelief concealed within it a mysterious Divine decree. He believed that it could not but happen so for the benefit of the Gentiles, but he also believed that the end would yet be the deliverance of Israel. And this is followed (xi. 13 ff.) by the warning to the Gentiles against pride, and, finally (xi. 33-36), by the devout admiration of the Divine decree, which revealed, yet only from a new point of view,

the great antithesis that ran through the whole history of man (as in Rom. v. 12-21; Gal. iii. 22).

That was what the Apostle had to say to the Roman Christians at the time. He had refuted all the charges circulated against his Gospel, and declared that Gospel in bold lines. He was now the more at liberty, in the hortatory part of the letter, to turn to the Church itself without further collateral reference to disputed points of doctrine. And, in fact, the best proof that the opposite principles were not rooted in the Church, but had only been introduced into it, is to be found in the universal character, so peaceful and so unrestricted, of the exhortation which first (xii. 1–xiii. 14) gives a kind of outline of all Christian duties, including those which specially referred to public life—here of such vast importance; then (xiv. 1–xv. 7) turns to the existence of partisanship, which, while connected with incipient Judaism on the part of believers, discovers no trace of any connection with the Judaistic teaching Paul had opposed, and, lastly (xv. 8-13), emphasises the duty owed by them as Gentiles called through the mercy of God.

In place of the special communications, instructions, and greetings, to be found at the close of Paul's other letters, we have here naturally (xv. 14-33) a continuation of the introduction to the epistle: the elucidation of his attitude to his readers, and his intention to visit them.

CHAPTER IV

ROME—FORTUNES OF THE CHRISTIANS

§ 1. *The Imprisonment of Paul.*

Paul was not destined to carry out his plan of travelling to Rome and Spain. The hatred of the Jews and suspicion of the Romans brought his career to a premature end. Rome, however, he was to reach, only not in possession of his freedom. His appearance at Jerusalem, when he went there with the proceeds of his collection for the poor of the Church, provoked a violent storm among the Jews. The Roman magistrate stepped in, prevented for the time an act of violence, yet received the complaint of the Jews against him, and subjected him to examination in prison.

The effect produced by Paul's presence in Jerusalem was far from unexpected. Even in 1 Thess. ii. 16 he had himself said of the Jews in general terms, 'they prevent us speaking to the Gentiles, that they may be saved.' His mission was in their eyes a profanation of their sanctuary, a form of apostasy. In the letter to the Romans—the last in our possession of those written in the days of his freedom—he begs the Roman Christians to pray for him in view of his impending journey to Jerusalem, 'that he may be delivered from them that are disobedient in Judaea, and that his ministration for Jerusalem may be acceptable to the saints' (xv. 30 f.). The successful issue of his visit to Jerusalem was the condition of the fulfilment of his hope that he should reach Rome. Others also saw the danger, saw it more keenly than himself. According to the account of the eye-witness in the Acts,

he had to listen to warning voices at every stage of his advance to Jerusalem. The disciples in Tyre advised him 'through the spirit' not to go up to Jerusalem (xxi. 4). The prophet Agabus, who had come from Judaea, warned him in Caesarea, binding his own hands and feet, in order to show him how he would be delivered by the Jews at Jerusalem to the Gentiles; and all who were with him urged him even yet to abandon his journey (xxi. 11 f.). So well known were the feeling that was there entertained against him and the danger with which it threatened him. To understand this we must realise for ourselves the resentment with which the growing repugnance of the Jews to the Roman supremacy regarded the transference of their national religion to the Gentiles.

The Acts describes very minutely, in the most vivid part of the whole book, how this resentment burst forth, how the Jews came to an open insurrection resulting in the imprisonment and prosecution of the Apostle. Its account is at the same time our only source of information for these events. It does not belong to the original record: that is only resumed (xxvii. 1) at the point when Paul is being transported from Caesarea to Rome. The vividness of the description undoubtedly depends on portions which owe this feature not so much to the knowledge as to the skill of the narrator. To these belong above all the elaborate speeches delivered by the Apostle himself, in Jerusalem (xxii. 1-21), and in Caesarea (xxvi. 2-23), then the letter of Claudius Lysias, commandant in Jerusalem, to the procurator Felix (xxiii. 26-30), the address delivered by Tertullus, the advocate, before the latter (xxiv. 3-8), the discussions in the Sanhedrim (xxii. 30–xxiii. 10), and before Festus and Agrippa (xxv. 13-27, xxvi. 24-32), and the precise description of the great military convoy by which Paul is brought from Jerusalem to Caesarea (xxiii. 23 f.). To the same category belongs Lysias' identification of Paul with the Egyptian whose history the former thereon relates (xxi. 38), noticing his mistake from the fact that Paul speaks Greek (xxi. 37); along with other similar passages

containing matters which it was impossible in some cases for the historian, in others for any one at all, to have known, at any rate as they are related. Of these the greater part seem to have been freely invented by the writer, while others, *e.g.* the mention of the Egyptian, appear to have been derived from literature. Sometimes the facts are inconceivable as they are told: Paul's speech in Jerusalem to the Jewish people, with its detailed narrative of the way in which he became a Christian and missionary to the Gentiles, is an apologetic lecture which we cannot realise as having been delivered in the presence of the angry multitude. The meeting convened by Festus in Caesarea, as if to leave to it the decision upon the case, yet without any practical object being secured by it, belongs to the same category. It is as far from being in the least probable that Paul should have attempted to set the Pharisees and Sadducees against each other with his doctrine of the Resurrection, or that he should in point of fact have succeeded in doing so (xxiii. 6-9). This simply produces the impression that the historian had become acquainted through literature with the so-called distinctive doctrines of the parties, and had come to the conclusion that the Pharisees approximated more closely to the faith of the Christians on this point. If the narrative was formed in this way, then it is also intelligible that it contains palpable inconsistencies. Thus this very conference closes without any actual result, in fact with the decision of the Pharisees in favour of Paul; yet Lysias reports on the other hand (xxiii. 28 f.) that the Sanhedrim had accused him, and a deputation from it actually appears before Felix in Caesarea with its complaint (xxiv. 1 ff.), and the same thing is afterwards repeated on the part of the Sanhedrim in Jerusalem before Festus (xxv. 15). The author of the book records all these incidents one after the other, perfectly unembarrassed, here as elsewhere, by incongruities in his text, and wholly intent on the elaboration of each separate section. We may best recognise the nature of his efforts to produce a pragmatic representation from the fact that he sets up different motives side by side to explain the same matter, motives

which are seen when closely examined to be mutually exclusive, and are only designed to produce their effect from their accumulation. Thus Felix keeps Paul in durance, because he is secretly interested in his teaching (xxiv. 24), and because he hopes to get money from him (xxiv. 26), and because he seeks to please the Jews (xxiv. 27). Of other portions of the narrative we must decide that, while not in themselves impossible, they are yet questionable when we compare them with other traits in the author's writings. This is the case with the bringing of Paul before Agrippa II. by Festus, which is exactly parallel to the removing of Jesus to Herod Antipas by Pilate; the latter is, however, certainly to be recognised from a comparison with the other Gospels as an unhistorical addition.

If all this only affects separate portions of the narrative, the extraordinary way in which it repeats itself in its main sections throws a peculiar light upon the whole. It is substantially the same thing which takes place between the two procurators Felix and Festus on the one side, and Paul and the Jews on the other—the accusation of Paul by the Jews, the attempt of the latter to get him into their power and to kill him, and the protection which the Apostle is forced to obtain from the Roman. If we add the earliest events in Jerusalem, then the Jews thrice try to get at his life: first during the tumult in the city (xxi. 31), then by means of the conspiracy formed against him while in prison, a conspiracy opportunely discovered by the commandant (xxiii. 12 ff.), and again under Festus when they seek to secure his extradition to Jerusalem (xxv. 3). They also make three complaints to the Roman authorities. The Sanhedrim accuses Paul before Lysias (xxiii. 28 f.), before Felix (xxiv. 1 f.), and before Festus (xxv. 2, 15). Paul is thrice rescued by the Romans, which is equal to saying that the charge is recognised to be unfounded. Lysias protects him from violence by taking him into custody, then from the new disturbance after Paul appeared before the Sanhedrim, and, finally, from the conspirators by sending him off to Caesarea. In the same way Felix really repels the complaint of

the Jews, when he postpones everything till he is better informed (xxiv. 22). And Festus, as Paul's third deliverer, accepts his appeal to the Emperor against the charge of the Jews (xxv. 12), and afterwards declares him to have been innocent (xxv. 18, 25; xxvi. 31). The most striking feature is the repetition in what takes place under the two procurators. It forces upon us the opinion that we have here to deal not with a similar course of events, but with a reduplication due to the tradition or to the author. This idea would only be negatived if we knew that the historian had been brought into immediate contact with the events by his date and his own experience. Apart, however, from the other features of his work, this is rendered impossible by the circumstance that he had evidently no information from Paul himself as to this whole period. The two years of his imprisonment are a blank; he has nothing to tell of the Apostle except what went on at his trial; he relates nothing at all except that.

From this we also find how far we can compute the date of Paul's imprisonment. Strictly speaking we are only certain that Festus' successor, the procurator Albinus, was already at Jerusalem according to the reckoning of Josephus, *B. J.*, vi. 5, 3, in the autumn of A.D. 62; he only arrived, as appears from the narrative of James's death, some time after the death of Festus. On the other hand, it is uncertain when Festus assumed office as the successor of Felix, and accordingly how long his administration lasted. What we know of it from Josephus actually amounts to very little, and therefore it is at any rate possible, that the substitution of Festus for Felix did not take place till A.D. 61. If we adopt this date and at the same time retain Paul's two years of imprisonment (Acts xxiv. 27) under Felix, we have A.D. 59 as the date of the Apostle's arrest, and therefore the period of seven years, A.D. 52-59, from the probable date of the Assembly in Jerusalem, for his great mission. Yet this period is seriously shortened as soon as we suppose a longer tenure of office on the part of Festus. All this is, however, confronted by the fact,

which will appear afterwards, that the two years of imprisonment under Felix are a doubtful quantity and cannot be depended on with certainty. In that case the arrest itself may have occurred nearer the transportation to Rome, and this would extend the time allotted to the great mission.

But as regards the trial, its description is not consistent in itself, nor does it correspond in the chief points to the situation. Its real import is that the Apostle was persecuted by the enmity of the Jews, but was protected and pronounced innocent by the justice of the Romans. And in this, in the proof of his innocence, plainly lies the aim of the whole narrative. Even the Jews had to share in it to some extent. In the Sanhedrim, at the hearing of his case, a party was formed in his favour, and that from among the Pharisaic scribes: they said (xxiii. 9), 'We find no evil in this man: and what if a spirit has spoken to him or an angel?' And they came forward so determinedly that a violent dispute arose, and no conclusion was arrived at. The Jewish prince Agrippa who had been invited to his assistance by Festus went much further. The impression made upon him by Paul was so deep that he exclaimed, 'You will shortly lead me to become a Christian' (xxvi. 28), and he regrets (ver. 32) that Paul had appealed to the Emperor; otherwise he could have been discharged. But these are only isolated voices on that side; it is different with the Romans; the tribune Claudius Lysias thus sums up the result of his examination (xxiii. 29): Paul was charged on account of certain disputes about the Jewish law, but he had been able to discover no accusation meriting death or even imprisonment. The charge is made before Felix (xxiv. 5) that Paul moved about the whole earth as a dangerous instigator of insurrections. Felix, however, attaches no importance to this, he knows the nature of the sect too well (xxiv. 22), and seizes the opportunity to make Paul tell him about his faith (ver. 24); only his teaching as to righteousness, self-control, and the judgment disturbs the man, whom from history we know to have had certainly no very sensitive conscience; yet he retains him in prison under the most

generous arrangements. Finally, his successor Festus speaks out openly in Paul's favour. He would not have been unwilling, indeed, to give up the Apostle to the Jews in order to deprive them of a grievance, and thus he causes him to make his appeal to the Emperor (xxv. 1-12). Yet he declared to them that Roman law did not permit him simply to give any man up to them, but required a regular examination and an opportunity for defence to the accused (xxv. 16). He also instituted the examination with the result (xxv. 18 f.) that the accusers were unable to allege any crimes such as he had expected. 'They had only complaints against him which referred to their own religion and to one Jesus, who was dead, whom Paul maintained to be alive.' Festus did not know what to make of it. So he goes on to tell Agrippa (xxv. 25) that he could not find that Paul had done anything worthy of death. He intends now to try the case once more before that prince, in order to perhaps bring out something that will help him to prepare a record, when he sends the accused to Rome (xxv. 26). After the trial, however, or rather after Paul's defence, Festus agrees with Agrippa (xxvi. 30 f.) that—as Lysias had said—the man had done nothing which deserved death or imprisoment.

The whole of this narrative is perfectly consistent in that it lets nothing happen to Paul's prejudice in the trial, and that on the contrary the Roman magistrates throughout recognise his innocence and the groundlessness of the charge. Bnt it leaves a sense of mystery, when we compare this repeated proof of innocence with the prolonged retention in prison. Why Felix did not discharge Paul, but detained him for two years in prison, is not explained even by the various explanatory reasons accumulated by the author. It is as far from being clear why Festus should have forced him to make the appeal to the Emperor, or why this should have afterwards prevented his discharge on the complete recognition of his innocence. On the supposition that Paul's innocence was recognised, then at one point or other he should have been liberated.

It is also hard to explain how the Jews from the nature of their accusation should have necessarily contributed to its obtaining so unfavourable a result; how, in particular, Festus should have been able to appeal to their having merely brought before him disputes as to their faith. In the speech of Tertullus something else was undoubtedly alleged, viz., the promotion of disorder; but this charge is easily brushed aside by the counter-declaration of Paul. And yet they certainly had appearances in their favour; for Paul had been confined purely on account of the tumults that had broken out in Jerusalem; and this was unquestionably not done merely to protect him, but because it was possible to regard him as the instigator of the riots; it was in any case natural that his opponents should have represented him in that light. The Roman authorities might be indifferent enough to disputes which merely turned on the faith, those which involved the law, Christ, and the Resurrection. But if we realise the situation in Judaea at the time, we can only think of them as regarding every disturbance of the peace among the unruly people with suspicion, and as being on the alert to get rid of every one who was suspected of instigating a rising. This and this alone was without doubt the ground of the proceedings actually taken against Paul. The Romans made a mistake in seizing him in so far as he was persecuted by the Jews simply because his action seemed prejudicial to their national cause. Yet their conduct was directly warranted, for by the reception of the complaint at the moment they prevented the ferment having further consequences, they escaped the reproach to which the immunity of an enemy of the law would have given rise, and at the same time maintained the authority of their government. But that the procurator did not from that point of view summarily remove this troublesome and at any rate suspected Jew is perfectly intelligible, if, as the Acts represents, Paul's prerogative as a Roman citizen was established immediately after he was taken prisoner.

In reality, however, the riots excited by Paul's appearance

in Jerusalem went no further. The intervention of the Roman magistrate needs no explanation. He prevented violence being done to Paul, but kept him a prisoner. The procurator regarded him as a promoter of disturbances, pronouncing no decision, however, because Paul at last appealed to the court of the Emperor.

The narrative given of this event by the Acts is influenced, in the first place, by a conception which was very natural to the author in his age. It was important for him to show in this history especially that Christianity was entirely void of danger to the Roman state, and that it involved no misdeeds worthy of punishment, that the Roman magistrates, though influenced by various motives existing in their character and circumstances, time and again found themselves compelled to recognise this inoffensiveness, while even the Jews were in the end unable to bring forward anything except disputes as to their faith. He was able to illustrate this in the case of three men, the tribune in Jerusalem, who would only do what his office required in order to preserve peace, the procurator Felix who, of doubtful character as he was, and swayed alternately by better and meaner motives, only passed on the decision to his nobler successor Festus, who, without any personal interest in the case, saw through the groundlessness of the charge, and merely sought at last to meet the wishes of the Jews from political reasons, thereby compelling the Apostle to appeal to the court of the Emperor.

But after our observations as to a series of separate features, the striking repetitions, and the improbability of the decision of the Roman magistrate, it must be considered doubtful whether this view—sketched so characteristically—is historical in its development. Historical data may be contained in details, *e.g.*, the names of the Roman Tribune and of the Jews' advocate, and the mention of Paul's imprisonment in Caesarea. But these are only fragments of settled fact in the wide and insecure field of vague recollection and free hypothesis. If, however, we combine the repetition of the course of events under the two procurators, Felix

and Festus, with the fact that the two years' imprisonment in Caesarea is to the author a perfect blank, proving at this point especially the absence of any more precise tradition from Paul's immediate attendants, we are justified also in questioning the duration of that imprisonment, and the participation of two procurators in the Apostle's detention. As has been shown, we cannot discover, from the description given, what ground Felix should have had for so long putting off the case. But the delay is improbable in itself, and is least of all suited to the character of the procurator and his dealings elsewhere with the Jews in their revolts, especially in any disturbances and risings in which the question of religion played a part. It would have been more in keeping with his customary conduct, if he had summarily made an end of a case whose real significance he could not penetrate, and which must for that very reason have roused his suspicion. On the other hand, it is difficult to explain why Paul should, under such doubtful circumstances, have waited so long with the appeal to the Emperor, which afterwards under Festus he was prepared to lodge quickly enough. This decisive turn given to the affair under the latter procurator may be regarded as the most certain event in the whole history of the case. Paul, as a prisoner, could only be taken to Rome, if he was to be brought before the Emperor's court. And this had to be done, if he invoked such intervention. We are not compelled to deduce the duplication of the history from two different written sources, or two divergent traditions. But, on the other hand, it is not to be explained solely as an embellishment of the picture in order to a vivid presentation of the author's conception of events. It is enough to suppose that, having no longer any certain knowledge of the name of the procurator, he sought to give consistency to a vacillating tradition. The two years are, besides, merely introduced to fill up a gap, and are therefore conceived on a plan, as is proved by the comparison of this note of time with the same one applied to the imprisonment in Rome.

Paul's appeal to the Emperor, if made under Festus, took place

A.D. 61, probably not long after he had been taken prisoner in Jerusalem. There is no ground for supposing that his removal to Rome was put off till later, and since the subsequent voyage was made in winter, we have to assign the decree and its execution to the autumn of 61. With this section we tread the firm ground of history. For here at Acts xxvii. 1 the personal record of the book again enters, and that with its longest and fullest part. Now, the record shows at the very beginning that Paul was by no means destitute of friends and companions in Caesarea, and it thus illustrates further the nature and origin of the preceding narrative, which in this very respect is devoid of any real perspicuousness. Besides, it may also be said that the isolation in which Paul there appears would have been quite incompatible with the spirit of the Christian communion. It was not customary in this circle to abandon any of its members when in custody. Paul's experience at any rate in Ephesus was wholly the reverse (Rom. xvi. 4, 7). In the record we meet with at least two brethren, who were with the Apostle, and did not leave him during his transportation to Rome, viz., the author himself and Aristarchus of Thessalonica, specially named by the former (xxvii. 2) as a companion of Paul. We are not necessarily limited to this number, since we do not know whom the narrator understands by the 'we,' whether along with himself he merely comprehends Paul, or Paul and others who had previously remained with him. The companions were not taken as prisoners, for of Paul alone is it said (xxvii. 1) that he was handed over along with some other prisoners to a centurion of the Augustan company, in command of a military transport. They accordingly obtained permission as free men to take advantage of the ship. For the rest, they did not wait for the sailing of a ship bound for Italy, but first employed one from Adramyttium in Mysia, which sailed to ports in Asia Minor; they therefore re-shipped at Myrrha in Lycia on an Alexandrian vessel going to Italy. The first ship anchored for a time at Sidon, where Paul obtained permission to visit his friends on shore, and to receive their ministrations: a trait which also indicates that he

had not just enjoyed a rest in prison for two years, but had recently passed through exhausting experiences. However, the captain is praised for having treated Paul humanely.

The narrative of the passage in the Alexandrian ship which sailed past Cnidos and Crete, and after contending with a severe storm during the long voyage, was at last wrecked at Malta, is exceedingly perspicuous and vivid. All the localities, all the separate accidents of the voyage, are not only clearly described, but the standpoint from which the whole is sketched is that of one who had passed through it. This feature is retained in the description of the compulsory stay at Malta, and of the further voyage by another Alexandrian vessel to Puteoli. Here everything is fresh, simple, and natural, and reported with a skilful pen. But it is not only the accurate knowledge of the outward course of events that betrays the eye-witness; what his record contains about Paul marks him as the disciple and associate, who, with all his accuracy in the description of those facts, has his eye fixed steadily on the man whom he had followed in order to share his fortunes, with whom he now faces great dangers and deprivations, and whom he finds new reason to admire and to take courage from. The stormy voyage and shipwreck form the central point of the narrative; to this is appended the residence at Malta. In the former Paul reveals himself as prophet, in the latter as the possessor of miraculous power. We should make a vast mistake, however, if we were to infer from this that the simple travel-record had here been revised by a writer intent upon artificially glorifying the Apostle as a worker of miracles. The narrative is an indivisible whole; it is impossible to disentangle the mere history of travel from it, or to strip away the miraculous additions. But such a practice is recommended by no convincing reason. The whole narrative contains nothing which might not have so happened in the actual facts and in the conception of those taking part in them. The same inimitable truth to life shown in the description of the voyage and its adventures belongs also to the author's sketch of Paul. In this very respect the history is a

pearl of priceless value. It is a picture from life, and the only one of the sort that we have, of all that Paul tells us incidentally as to the power of prophecy and the gift of miracles in the Church, and of what he ascribed in this respect to himself.

Above all, we here learn to know the Apostle, whose spiritual pre-eminence in matters of faith and Church leadership we have admired elsewhere, as the man of practical life, who by his rich experience in every situation, his repose and self-control, and his penetrating insight, compels, in the humiliating position of an imprisoned criminal, the respect of those around him, and finally through his superiority assumes their leadership. It is he who first advises at the right moment against the continuance of the voyage; his voice is not yet listened to; when the distress has become extreme, he steps among the trembling company as a prophet; he has had a vision from his God, and that God will rescue them with him; he himself will come before the Emperor. Shortly afterwards it is he who sees through the intention of the crew to save themselves and abandon their fellow-voyagers; he gives timely warning of their purpose to the captain. And for the second time his words restore their failing courage to all the men upon the ship; he rouses them to take food by word and example, consecrating his act by his solemn thanksgiving to God. When, finally, the prisoners are in danger of being put to death by the soldiers, the captain rescues him, and this leads to the deliverance of the rest. In Malta, where the good-natured populace interest themselves in the shipwrecked, Paul excites superstitious reverence by the coolness with which he shakes off a snake; he then heals the sick father of a great landed proprietor, and is therefore besieged by other patients.

All this can have occurred as it is described, and we are further compelled to say that such events must have been forthcoming in the career of the Apostle. Everything, indeed, takes place naturally during the experiences on shipboard, and what is extraordinary depends entirely on Paul's spiritual superiority. This rests, however, apart from his natural gifts, wholly upon his faith,

and the fact that at the critical moment he is strengthened by a vision is in perfect harmony with what he occasionally tells us as to the source of his moods and resolves. But the miraculous cures in Malta are an historically inseparable portion of the Apostolic life. Faith in the possession of this power is directly attested by Paul (1 Cor. xii. 9, 28, 30), and the belief could not have maintained itself without actual proof, although the facts involved in it themselves rested on the belief. But that the latter found ready acceptance among the heathen populace was only to be expected, and must be supposed to have essentially promoted the extension of the religion. Every part of this narrative, however miraculous it appears, is entirely adapted to set in the clearest light the natural, historical character of this wonder-world. Nor can we avoid the impression that separate traits in it, as *e.g.* the miraculous deliverances, and the power of Paul's personality, served as models for the exaggerated histories in other portions of the book. This applies especially to the ideas of the country people in Malta (xxviii. 6) as compared with the tale of the gods (xiv. 11 f.).

The second Alexandrian ship, on which the prisoner was conveyed from Malta, sailed past Syracuse and Rhegium to Puteoli, where Paul and his companions at once met with brethren with whom they were permitted to stay for eight days. Then the journey was resumed by land to Rome. Brethren belonging to the Roman Church, having been informed of the Apostle's arrival, came as far as Appii Forum and Tres Tabernae to meet and welcome him. Paul could then enter Rome with fresh courage. He was a prisoner, but under the regulations of the so-called *custodia militaris, i.e.*, he could choose his own residence, and was merely under the constant guard of a soldier, being as a rule chained to him. This last portion of the journey is also described with the same precision, and is in all its historical presuppositions unimpeachable.

The source of the Acts comes to an end with Paul's arrival in Rome; its original author plainly stopped here, because he

himself transcribed in Rome what he had till then experienced. But the Acts, which has made use of his note-book, also closes at this point; because the writer had no detailed knowledge of what now took place in the city, but also because he would not speak of the universally known facts, the trial with its unhappy issue. What deterred him can be conjectured on good grounds, as soon as we realise that his aim was to produce for his own period a defence, meant to show, on the one hand, that his faith was the true Judaism and was entitled to claim all the prerogatives of the latter, and, on the other, that at the date of its institution its innocence had been recognised by the Roman magistrates. The close of Paul's life could not be used for this purpose; to tell it could only have led to an accusation against the power of the state, and to raise such a charge was not in keeping with the author's aim, nay, would have been dangerous. This explains why he contents himself with the comprehensive statement (xxviii. 30 f.) that Paul lived in Rome for two years in his hired residence, 'preaching the kingdom of God and teaching the things concerning Jesus, none forbidding him.'

The author has, however, inserted before this an additional account of what, according to him, took place immediately after Paul's arrival in Rome (xxviii. 17-28). Paul invited the leaders of the Roman Jews to meet with him. To them he delivered an address in order to assure them that he had been guilty of no action against their nation or its institutions; the Romans, also, had found no fault in him. But the Jews had delivered him to the latter, and had so bestirred themselves to do him harm, that he had found himself compelled to appeal to the Emperor; it was not his intention, however, to charge his people with this, he only desired to assure them that he had been imprisoned on account of the hope of Israel. The Jews answered him cautiously that they had received no letter or report concerning him, and declared themselves ready to receive further explanations from him, at the same time adding, that it was well known to them that the sect was everywhere spoken against. A second conference took

place; Paul preached the Gospel to them, first with partial success; but at last they all went away, the Apostle giving them the passage from Isaiah vi. to take with them, which had been employed by Jesus in His parabolic teaching as to the stubbornness of the nation; and he adds that 'salvation had now come to the Gentiles.'

It is clear that Paul could not have spoken thus to the Roman Jews; he could neither have represented himself as a law-abiding Jew, nor have introduced himself to them by saying that while the Jews in Judaea had persecuted him without reason, the heathens had pronounced him blameless. Nor was there any necessity for him, situated as he was, satisfying his hearers that he was not accusing them. But the Roman Jews certainly knew a great deal more about the Christians and their cause than is assumed in this description. The author of the Acts, however, makes Paul once more invite the Jews first to accept the Gospel, in order at the close to justify in Rome also the Gospel to the Gentiles.

In this aspect of its aim the Acts has now reached its end. Consistently with its intention, it marks Paul's entrance into Rome as the beginniug of a mission there, while the source previously made use of makes him come to a Church composed of brethren; and according to it we must assume that here the condition of parties was fully developed, even in relation to the Jewish populalation. The representation of the Acts is at any rate not destitute of historical value; for it at least proves that at the date of its composition the Jews and the Christian Church existed side by side, but absolutely apart; it seeks to explain how this had come about, why these Roman Jews were hostile to the Christians, who yet maintained that they possessed the salvation of Israel, and based their faith thereon. From this it also appears that the Church which the author had in view was substantially Gentile Christian. Now, it certainly does not follow that because this was the case in his own age it was so when Paul came to Rome. But in the state of parties at the later date we have at any rate a confirmation of the conclusion arrived at, on other grounds, as to the earlier period. The Acts is authoritative for our knowledge of the Chris-

tian Church in Rome when Paul arrived, only, not in its own narrative as to how the Apostle greeted the Jews, but in its preceding original record. A deputation marched out to meet the Apostle in order to welcome him. Even at Puteoli, far away from Rome, he had come upon brethren who received him heartily. Accordingly it was no hostile Church, but a body of Christians among whom his name was highly honoured that received him.

§ 2. *The Letter to the Philippians.*

With this beginning there was every promise that Paul would realise the hope expressed by him in the letter to the Romans: 'That he might give and receive strength through their mutual faith.' Matters were not, indeed, exactly as he had conceived them. In any case, the union of a Church complete in itself, adapted to afford him a firm footing and to award their full prestige to his Apostolic office and his Gospel, was not perfectly realised. The vast city, with all its influences and usages, did not exclude the fixed kernel of a Church, but side by side with that it contributed an indeterminate and changeful coming and going of the most varied elements. The Apostle accommodated himself to this position also; however novel it might be to him in the above respect, he soon sought his vocation there, and selecting his field of labour with the versatility of his genius, he took possession of it by the inexhaustible energy of his faith. Such is the picture afforded by the letter to the Philippians, our only authority for his residence in Rome.

In spite of his imprisonment, the conditions were not unfavourable for Paul's work. He was not permitted, indeed, to move about himself, but he was granted free intercourse with visitors. With him lived Timothy (Phil. ii. 19), who had either accompanied him from Caesarea, or had followed him by another route. It was he especially who assisted him in his administration of the old Pauline Churches (ver. 20, 21), not even yet lost sight of by the Apostle. The members of the Church could not of course receive

him at their meetings; they could only visit him individually; their conferences with him were, however, to a certain extent official. From this, Paul's intercourse with them must have been impressed with more of the character of mission work, especially as he certainly did not confine himself to Christians; all sorts of people desired to see and hear this remarkable man for themselves. In addition to this, his imprisonment facilitated intercourse with strangers more than the ordinary residence of a foreigner at liberty would readily have done. For the better supervision of his guard, the house which he took was necessarily close to the great barracks of the Praetorian soldiers, and the occupants naturally paid attention to him. He afterwards emphasises this when he says that 'his fetters became a manifestation in Christ' (i. 13). This proximity also led naturally to acquaintance with people belonging to the Imperial Court, and not without pride and prophetic satisfaction he sends greetings, not only from all the saints, but especially from members of the Imperial household to the Christians abroad, who, though as yet unknown to them, are already united with them by the faith (iv. 22).

Paul has sketched in a few strokes, yet with amazing clearness, the more definite form taken by this whole movement (i. 12-18). It was especially his imprisonment or his trial which attracted attention to the Gospel, first in the Praetorium, but afterwards also in the most remote circles. People spoke and inquired about it. Not only did he himself thus receive an opportunity of testifying to it; the effect extended to the rest of the Christians. The publicity given to their cause by the imprisoned Apostle resulted in them shaking off their reluctance to speak of it. It might be objected that the judicial persecution certainly threatened them also and could not but make them more reserved. But this is not valid. Paul's case was peculiar; it was not on account of his faith that he was under examination; his was not a religious trial. He was accused as a disturber of the peace. His fellow-believers accordingly were not menaced by any immediate effects from association with him. And besides

we should require to think very meanly of the faith, if the first danger that threatened should have at once urged its followers, not to confession, but to a timid concealment. It was not so, although the pure motives of the genuine impulse of the faith had by no means everywhere the upper hand.

The rest of what the Apostle tells us in detail is written under the influence of the thought that the discussion of the name and Gospel of Christ in the great metropolis of the world could only result in a gain; that they are discussed is what cheers and gladdens him. He may have imagined from the place where he was confined that this success was greater than it was in reality; he formed the impression of a quick and irresistible advance. And from the point of view of the mighty mission which, like a power exalted above all individuals, itself here wielded the Gospel, it was also easy for Paul to look beyond all personal effort, as beyond all imperfection in the preachers. The Apostle had hardly ever been in a similar situation. And he had hardly ever reviewed from such a height the movement of the cause for which he staked his life. The sketches of all that was taking place around him crowd his canvas in rapid succession. The Christians come forward more openly than formerly with their confession. Nay, Christ is spoken of by people of every sort, by many in envy and strife, with spiteful and depreciatory criticism, but by as many with goodwill. For the Christians Paul's own position is a natural incentive. But the majority of men, when they see how he lies here in defence of the Gospel, can only speak of him with love. Yet of the opposite feeling there is no want; there are also some to whom it gives satisfaction to grieve him in his bonds, and therefore to speak maliciously and insincerely of him. But what does it matter? In either case, sincerely or insincerely, 'Christ is proclaimed, and therein he rejoices.' Paul is manifestly speaking here of men who helped against their will to diffuse the name of Christ and the knowledge of the Gospel; he certainly comprehends among them without distinction those who busied

themselves with the Gospel with no deep interest in it of their own.

So varied are the many reflections that pass before the Apostle that every sentence gives us, as it were, a new picture. The first is the heightened zeal and courage with which the associates in the faith speak the word of God. The second shows us how Christ is universally talked of, but in opposite ways: by some maliciously, by the rest with goodwill. The third reveals how he himself, how his imprisonment co-operates, also in ways that are opposed, producing a noble sympathy, or a spiteful exaltation. In these two latter types Gentiles and Jews are comprehended, but also Christians whose spirit is insincere. And when we hear Paul speak of party-spirit, *ἐριθεία*, a term by which he elsewhere characterises the Jews (Romans, ii. 8) or when he says that some also proclaim Christ *προφάσει*, in appearance, with a treacherous intention, we cannot avoid the conclusion that he had once more before his eyes Christians whose Christianity he did not regard as genuine and who were his enemies, in other words Judaists. Yet it is plain that he was not thinking of them alone; he only comprehends them in the general type. That he does so, and thus as it were passes beyond them, is explained from his mood, from the point of view by which his reflections were governed. It was only possible, however, if they were not the leaders among the Christians.

If the above suggestion is correct then there were at this time Judaistic Christians in Rome. We cannot infer from it indeed how many there were, or in what relation they stood to the Church. We can only conclude from Phil. i. 14 that Paul felt himself in agreement with the general body of the brethren; he recognises without reservation that they spoke the word of God; accordingly he can have entertained no doubts as to their doctrine. Those, however, who are designated as preaching from envy and strife (ver. 15), or as speaking from party-spirit and insincerely (ver. 17), did not therefore belong to their number. It is not said of them that they spoke the word of God, but only that they preached

Christ, in other words circulated His name. Had the teaching and spirit of the Judaists been predominant in the Roman Church, Paul could not have spoken with such composure of what was taking place. The secure position now occupied by him was not merely the result of his own present activity; when he forwarded greetings to Philippi from all the saints in Rome, and in doing so made particular mention of those among whom his personal mission was especially carried on at the time, he was at one with the Church itself; and this fact once more reflects a confirmatory light upon the actual conditions implied in the letter to the Romans. We must in that case assume that it was that epistle which first transformed the whole situation in the Church.

The Philippian letter shows no trace, so far as its references to Rome are concerned, of the pain which the Apostle experienced wherever he observed the perversion of the Gospel into the other, *i.e.* the legal, Gospel; and yet this feeling breaks out in its full strength, and the Apostle is provoked to bitter anger against the authors of the evil, when he comes in the same letter to speak of efforts of this nature in Philippi (Phil. iii. 2 ff.). We cannot however mistake the presence of another mood, though not the only or even the predominant one, when he refers to his relations with the Romans; we are conscious of a feeling of resignation, and that not merely on account of the pressure of imprisonment and danger of death, but also in regard to the fortunes of the Gospel. In the words which Paul utters as to Timothy (ii. 20 ff.)—'I have none likeminded, who cares genuinely for your interests: they all seek their own, not the things of Jesus Christ'—a sense of loneliness breaks through, which has perhaps made him harsh and unjust in his judgment. Accustomed as he had been in every Church in which he found himself to enjoy the perfect sympathy of those around him in all his anxiety about other Churches, about his whole work, he now found it necessary to reconcile himself to a deprivation which he had never before experienced. The Roman Church, well as it had received him, was not his own, and it was this fact which in the above respect he had to realise. The

uneasiness was human, even if we do not take into account the sadness underlying the captive's thoughts. But the consequences of the same position appear from another side. Paul's view of the agitation in the midst of which he saw the knowledge of Christ spreading and overlooked all hindrances, under the conviction that in any case Christ was preached, was certainly a magnanimous one, in so far as it implied that the word of Christ would of itself make way in all its truth. But it was one of resignation in so far as he himself, the services he had rendered to the work, came into play; it involved something of the feeling that the cause was passing out of his hands, or was dispensing with his help. And this was not due merely to the fact that his activity was restricted by circumstances, but that it was possible for the Gospel, in his very presence, to enter on paths which he could not condemn, but which were yet remote from his method of teaching. It is only an obscure suggestion; it gives us, however, a hint not only as to the position of the Apostle, but also as to the future of Christianity in Rome.

It is easy to comprehend that the Apostle turned with a peculiar tenderness from those relationships so novel to him to a Church which was among the firstfruits of his great Gentile mission, and that, apart from the special conditions there, nothing so occupied his thoughts as the urgency of perfect unity on the part of the members, and of the humility which could alone secure it (ii. 1 ff.). But it is not too far-fetched to find in the exhortation (iv. 8) which presents as the duty of the Christian the cultivation purely of what was proper to man in its widest comprehensiveness a suggestion of the impressions and reflections produced by the metropolis of the world of culture. Nothing, however, obscured for a moment his faith in Christ. Here, at the very seat of all human splendour and power, he depicted with especial emphasis the greatness of Him whom God had so highly exalted, and to whom He had granted the name, 'which is above every name, that at this name of Jesus every knee should bow of those in heaven, of those on earth, and of those under the earth, and that every

tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father' (Phil. ii. 9-11). And from the metropolis of the world the little churches of believers appeared to Paul like stars shining in the world in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation (ii. 15).

A considerable period must have elapsed between the Apostle's arrival in Rome and the composition of the letter. This is proved, not only by the extensive success which his presence had secured to the cause of the Gospel, but also by the fact that the Philippian Church found occasion to come to his help with money, and that Epaphroditus who conveyed it had already lain in Rome for a considerable time, detained by illness. Of the state of Paul's case we learn nothing at all. For himself, the future was wholly involved in uncertainty, and the hope of deliverance alternated, hour by hour, with the expectation of death. He accepted, so far as he himself was concerned, the one as the other from the hand of the Lord. Yet his feeling was strong that he was still necessary for his cause. But he also reflected that he was to pour out his blood in sacrifice, and for the consecration of the faith of his brethren.

§ 3. *The Death of Paul.*

The expectation of death was fulfilled. It is recorded in the letter of the Roman Church to Corinth which bears the name of Clement (chap. v.). There it is said that Paul received the victor's reward of endurance. He had worn fetters seven times, had been banished and stoned, and, become a herald (of the Gospel) in the East and West, he had obtained the glorious renown of his faith. After he taught righteousness to the whole world, he reached the boundary of the West and delivered his testimony before the rulers: thus he departed from the world and went to the Holy Place, as the highest pattern of endurance. There is no doubt that these words mean that Paul died the death of a martyr in Rome; the phrase μαρτυρήσας ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων can

only be understood of martyrdom in Rome, even if the following *καὶ οὕτως ἀπηλλάγη τοῦ κόσμου* did not give us further proof. As regards this fact therefore, it is wholly indifferent whether we refer the *τέρμα τῆς δύσεως* in the preceding clause to Spain or Rome. Besides there ought really to be no doubt that the latter phrase is to be referred to Rome. In the words *δικαιοσύνην διδάξας ὅλον τὸν κόσμον* the Apostle's missionary journeys are summed up; what follows applies to the close of his life, and the two clauses *καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως ἐλθὼν, καὶ μαρτυρήσας ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων* are to be taken together. But the choice of *τέρμα τῆς δύσεως*, a phrase striking in itself, to designate Rome, ceases to appear strange whenever we remember that two *τέρματα* come into play in the work of the Apostle, viz., Jerusalem and Rome, the starting-point and the terminus, the former in the East, the latter, the *τέρμα τῆς δύσεως*, in the West. As this scheme underlies our book of Acts, so it has also been applied elsewhere, and the letter of Clement manifestly made use of a source which enumerated the sufferings of the Apostle, and reduced his career to a plan; the sentences combined by Clement read like a memorial tablet. In addition to this it is also to be considered, that we can hardly conceive of the letter having adopted the journey to Spain. That journey never took place. It has only been concluded, from Paul's expression of his intention in the letter to the Romans, that the design must have been carried out; the author of the Muratorian Canon, the earliest writing in which the actual accomplishment of the journey is assumed, sought for evidence of it, and found nothing except that the Acts breaks off with Paul's residence for two years at Rome, without attaching any notice of his death. The scholarship of the fourth century then concluded from 2 Tim. iv. 16 that the Apostle had been discharged from prison, and had resumed his mission, after which he must, of course, have been incarcerated a second time. Even if, however, the opinion that Paul travelled to Spain arose as early as the second century, it is not at all probable that Clemens Romanus should have already shared it in the first; we

should rather say that his silence regarding it alone harmonises with his date and historical position.

The words of Clement's letter are our earliest testimony to Paul's martyrdom in Rome. They form perfectly satisfactory evidence of the fact. It is, however, the bare fact alone that we learn from them; of the time and circumstances of the death we know nothing. There are two reasons which have given rise to the view that Paul was put to death along with others in the so-called persecution of the Christians by the Emperor Nero. The one is involved in the statement of the Acts that he lay in prison for two years; for if Paul arrived at Rome in the spring of 62, then the reckoning would agree with the burning of the city in 64. The other ground is the tacit assumption that but for that incident the trial must have ended with the recognition of Paul's innocence. But the two years of the Acts have no decisive value. And the second reason is an erroneous hypothesis. It is in itself more probable that Paul was condemned, as he had been accused, as a promoter of disturbances. It is therefore at the least wholly uncertain whether his death took place during the great trial of the Christians.

A man's character is contained in his history, and the life and fate of Paul give us a picture of his character. All the qualities, partly natural, partly acquired, by which he won his great successes, the power of work and action which surmounted all weakness and scantiness of equipment, and the firm, unbending will, side by side with an extraordinary versatility, rapidity of glance, vivacity of changeful emotions, and adaptability to every situation —all this passes before us in the life that formed the central point of the Apostolic age. To these qualities were due that wonderful skill in recruiting and in governing which made him at once the greatest ambassador of the Gospel and the creator of a Church. He gained a narrow circle of uncompromising adherents; in the wider circle his spiritual supremacy was ever felt, in spite of all the devotion he showed, as an overmastering power, and often as a burden; but it remained victorious. Nevertheless,

at the end, he felt himself almost isolated, after he saw the great conflict of his life begin to fall into the background before a transformation in the affairs and character of the Church. The power of his personality ultimately rested on the strength of an absolute faith, whose presupposition was the school of Judaism in which religion as the Divine law was the whole object of life, and whose embodiment depended on the idea of the redemption of the world, and of the revelation of the glory of God. But on the basis of this faith there is to be observed through all his labours a double life peculiar to himself. With the clearness of his conscious aims and the acuteness of his reasoning powers, Paul combined an amazing strength of feeling and of fancy: his resolves possess the impress of the immediate, the overpowering; he was accompanied by visions and revelations that were created for him ceaselessly; the craving for prayer exhausted itself in all its forms, even to the suspension of his conscious thought. Then, again, the temper of the Apostle was ever bold and great in the certainty of his cause, in an unlimited confidence in God; in this it was triumphant and exultant. But so wrapped up was he in his cause, that he consumed himself in working for it, and bore about with him the feeling of dissolution. The cause of God must triumph, and he was the instrument; in that he lived; his own life was a sacrifice which he offered day by day. And this feeling not only developed itself in spiritual resignation and submission, but like everything with Paul shaped itself in outward act, in voluntary renunciation and relentless austerity towards himself. And it was also transferred into his whole view of life. From beginning to end he was through and through the man of conflict. The aspect and career of Christianity would have been different if it had been first instituted by the Apostle as in its essential principles that which it actually became through his work, namely, the religion of the world. He himself, however, did not seek to create anything of his own; his whole claim was that he preached Jesus Christ. And this feeling was more correct than a historical view determined by the relative extent of his sphere of influence. This

disputant was supported in the depths of his being by the thought that the ultimate goal had been already revealed in that other who preceded him, and whom he named his Lord; the Divine peace of this spirit accompanied him. Everything which distinguishes him from his Master and Lord—his fighting instinct as well as his theory, his restless activity as well as his tendency to spiritual extravagance—merely proves that he was not the founder of the religion, but the instrument of its extension and embodiment. With all his boldness in enterprise, Paul's universalism was narrower than that of the Founder Himself. And while Christianity was first preached by him in his age and vocation as the world-religion, it has only remained the world-religion as the Word of Him whom we know from the Gospel.

§ 4. *Nero's Persecution of the Christians.*

Suetonius, the biographer of the Emperors, adduces in his life of Nero (chap. xvi.) all sorts of beneficial state measures, chiefly of a police character, and among them: *afflicti suppliciis Christiani, genus hominum superstitionis novae ac maleficae.* These words mean that this religion, having been recently introduced, was contrary to the law, and deserved the penalty of death, because it embraced the crime of *maleficium*, of sorcery designed to injure others. Whether this was merely the view held at the date when Suetonius formed his idea of it—fifty years after the event—or whether it was the actual motive of the proceedings taken, is at first an open question. The latter is, however, probable, because it furnishes the most natural ground of action. We have no reason to doubt the fact itself, the carrying out of the executions. We may, however, suppose that what is here briefly recorded is identical with the more detailed narrative given by Tacitus of the execution of the *Christiani* under Nero in connection with the great conflagration in the city, A.D. 64 (*Ann.* xv. 44).

According to Tacitus, Nero's proceedings against the Christians were prompted by rumours that he had himself caused the fire—

rumours which made him uneasy and were dangerous to him, and which he had in vain attempted to suppress by other means. He wished the matter to be brought to an end through a punishment of the incendiaries; it was accordingly necessary to produce them, and the Christians seemed the most fitting subjects for the purpose; for they were people who were at any rate universally odious on account of their shameful practices, and always deserved the worst. Their religion was thoroughly pernicious; it had come from Judaea, where the execution of its founder, Christus, by the Procurator Pontius Pilate, under Tiberius, merely succeeded in suppressing it temporarily and apparently, and had reached Rome, showing how the capital was the resort of all that was hideous and vile. Some of them were first put upon their trial, and they were compelled to confess their religion; after that it was easy to secure by their means the names of others, and it was soon possible to implicate a very great multitude. They were convicted. The crime of incendiarism could not, indeed, be brought home to them, but another which in this instance was adjudged sufficient, viz., universal animosity to mankind. So their execution followed; it was carried out in the most revolting fashion, and the Emperor made a public spectacle of it.

The action against the Christians was not a religious trial; it cannot be called a persecution of Christians in the usual sense, because they were neither accused nor condemned on the ground of their religion. On the other hand, they were not executed as alleged or actual fire-raisers. Those first accused confessed: *igitur primum correpti, qui fatebantur.* What they confessed is not stated, nor is it to be inferred from the words themselves. It is certainly, however, an untenable opinion that they confessed to fire-raising, whether it be imagined that they were really guilty, or had simply been forced to confess by torture. For Tacitus premises that the Emperor had merely presupposed men guilty of the offence, that they had been falsely brought forward as such; and so it also follows that the whole of the accused were not convicted of the crime of fire-raising. Such a confession is therefore

out of the question. Accordingly, our only alternative is to refer the confession to the name of *Christiani*; and this interpretation is certain, since those first accused were at once made use of, in order through their statement to discover the great majority of the rest. The point was to get the *Christiani* at first into their power at all. Nor can we make the distinction that only the first were brought to confess, while the others could not be convicted. A distinction was not made between the two divisions, either in the proceedings, or in the view formed of them by the historian. The statement of Tacitus loses its point if we fail to perceive his meaning, that these people, while not guilty of the offence charged against them, undoubtedly deserved on other grounds the severest treatment. In this sense they were executed as *sontes*. For no one doubted that they formed a class of men in which *flagitia* of the worst kind were inherent.

Now, it may be left in doubt whether this presumption is due to the historian, or whether it already existed in common report under Nero. Apart from this instance, we have historical evidence of it first under Trajan, in the account of the younger Pliny who, when governor of Bithynia, put the question, whether the *nomen ipsum* was to be punished, or the *flagitia nomini cohaerentia*. The conviction was then widely spread that the fraternity of the Christians was a union for criminal purposes, and, as can be seen from the procedure in Pliny's inquiries, that the crimes were committed at their congregational meetings. That this opinion emerged at an early date is possible, and is not wholly unsupported by evidence. Justin Martyr is of opinion that the calumnies were conveyed to the world from Jerusalem immediately after the death of Jesus, when the disciples adhered to Him and diffused the faith (*Dial. cum Tr.* 17, 108, 114). The author of the Acts also indicates (xx. 8) that the Christians had cause even in the Apostolic age to guard themselves against the suspicion that horrors were perpetrated in the dark. Tacitus, however, does not maintain that in defect of evidence for incendiarism the Christians were condemned on account of these other crimes, but he gives a new title to their

offence, the *odium generis humani.* By this we are not to understand that the Christians were notorious for entertaining such an odious disposition, and that they were therefore unhesitatingly sacrificed as *a priori* proscribed without any specific evidence being produced against them; but an actual allegation is thus described which emerged in the course of the trial, and which was regarded as a crime worthy of sentence of death. It was customary to reproach the Jews also, as Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 5) testifies, with the hostile disposition entertained towards outsiders by that exclusive and self-contained people. But that did not amount to a crime.

What the Romans believed they had discovered of a criminal nature in the case of the Christians may be pointed out in the designation of their religion by Suetonius as *superstitio malefica.* The magical arts of *maleficium,* the injuring of human life by their means, had since the *Lex Cornelia de sicariis ac veneficis* been frequently condemned by the legislature as criminal, and we find almost the same words used as in this trial of the Christians. The law of Valentinian II., A.D. 389, designates the *maleficus* as *communis hostem salutis.* Augustine, who was well versed in the relative idiom, justifies (*De Civ. Dei,* viii. 19) the punishment of the *artes magicae* on the ground that these maleficia were undoubtedly *generi humano perniciosa.* Now, the Christians may, in the course of the inquiry, have voluntarily given utterance to expressions which were regarded as proving this crime. If they spoke of a destruction similar to this conflagration impending over the whole world, appealing at the same time to Holy Scripture, and if they could not refrain from seeing in the calamity which they now witnessed a prelude to their expectations, their words might be considered a proof of pernicious arts practised by them with the help of these Scriptures. The conception would then be absolutely the same as that designated in Minuc. Fel. *Oct.* xi. 1, the *furiosa opinio* of the Christians, as it was regarded by the heathens: *quod toto orbi et ipsi mundo cum sideribus suis minantur incendium, ruinam moliuntur.* Here we have also the opinion that the Christians did not merely expect this conflagration and

destruction as something which their God would bring to pass, but that they themselves meditated it and were labouring to effect it.

This course of events is so clear in itself, and corresponds so closely to the historical character of the Christian religion and the impressions formed of it by the heathen world, that there is not the slightest ground for the conjecture that the violence inflicted on the Christians was really meant for the Jews, and that the believers in Christ were thus only fellow-sufferers in the persecution of the latter. All that we know of the existence of the Christian Church in Rome at the time leaves no room for doubt that its religion can, nay, must have been known to the populace and magistrates of the city as a special *superstitio*. But we are debarred from regarding this malevolent persecution on account of the conflagration as having been directed against the Jews, by the circumstance that they were not likely to be attacked in this way. They had their rights; their treatment had from their numbers become a question of policy in Rome. It had first become apparent under Claudius that comprehensive measures could not be easily executed against them. Under Nero, however, they were absolutely favoured through the influence of Poppaea, herself a Jewish proselyte (cf. Jos. *Ant.* 20, viii. 11, *Vita* 3). For the object in question one *nomen*, which was besides destitute of rights, was alone suited. Attention had been attracted to the *Christiani* by the animation introduced with Paul's presence into their cause. The faith having, according to the Philippian letter, found its way into the Praetorium and the household of the Emperor, the above effect followed as a matter of course. Besides, we must not interpret the statement of Tacitus under the idea that his representation alone was reponsible for the view that the Christians formed a separate society, and that we should therefore be justified in supposing that he had carried back his conception into the reign of Nero. Apart from his authority, the separation of the Jews at the earlier period from the Christians in Rome is certain, and Tacitus' representation is therefore in perfect harmony with the

historical situation. This, of course, does not preclude a knowledge of the connection of the Christians with Judaism; anything else is inconceivable. It must have been known that the Christians had come forth from Judaism. The only point is that they were now a separate and independent sect.

Though from this we cannot designate the event as a persecution of the Christians in the stricter sense, yet their religion was in two respects the cause of the treatment which they experienced. In the first place, they were selected as victims because they were universally detested and suspected, and anything was held to be permissible against them. In the second place, during the trial itself their faith, that is, the judgment passed upon the world by their faith and the misconception of that judgment, had given grounds for their punishment. Later generations of Christians were therefore perfectly justified in regarding the barbarity of Nero as the dreadful beginning of all their persecutions by the power of the state. Even their strict submission to the law, advised by Paul in a foreboding spirit, could not prevent their fate. It lay in the nature of the case. When afterwards, as under Domitian, there came periods during which the Jews were also more harshly treated, it is not difficult to conceive that the Christians, who at all events were a sect originally Jewish, should have been involved in the same sufferings. But the persecution of the Christians as Christians accompanied this and never ceased. It is to be learned from Pliny's report to Trajan that processes against Christians were frequent.

The punishment of the accused under Nero was a massacre. It was carried out with peculiar cruelty and barbarity. Nero made a spectacle of it, throwing open his gardens, and himself assisting as a charioteer, intentionally mixing with the multitude. Tacitus tells us that some were crucified; some were clothed with the skins of wild beasts that they might then be torn to pieces by dogs; others were wrapped in inflammable stuffs and set fire to at nightfall, so that they served to illuminate the place.

Still further details are indicated by allusions in Clement's letter which otherwise would have been unintelligible; women endured atrocious violence (vi. 2); they were compelled to assist at the spectacle as Danaids and Dirces, the latter being bound to oxen and dragged about till they died, the former being perhaps subjected to still more shameful usage. It would appear from these forms of death, as well as from the whole procedure, that those condemned belonged to the lower classes.

It is self-evident that this calamity only affected the Christians in Rome. As it did not emanate from an impeachment of their religion, so neither was there connected with it any universal decree against their religion. It can only have had a moral effect on the treatment of the Christians. Tacitus well observes that the action produced no good impression in Rome, nay, that it excited a certain sympathy. Not as if the Christians had come to be regarded more favourably. But it was considered that the events, in the form in which they happened, did not promote the welfare of the state, but were inspired by the cruelty of the sovereign. Yet, finally, the general mistrust of the Christians, the conviction of their outlawry, had only been extended. Among the Christians the impression was everywhere equally dreadful. From this moment it was impossible for them longer to doubt, that the Roman world-power was the great enemy of their faith, the adversary that would wage the decisive battle with their Lord. The Apocalypse is the convincing testimony to this. It is not merely Nero who is the Antichrist, although his personality occupies the foreground in the prophetic combinations; Nero and the imperial power coalesce in a single symbol. It is hardly possible to conceive a stronger contrast than that between Paul's teaching as to this sovereignty, and these symbols of horror and hatred. And yet the Church did not suffer itself to be shaken in its principles of submission and fidelity to the law.

§ 5. *Peter.*

It is impossible to speak of the Roman Church in the Apostolic age without recalling the Apostle Peter. No greater contrast could exist than that between the familiar legend of Peter as the first Bishop of Rome, and what we know of his relations to Rome, nay, of the later history of his life in general. The legend has here, however, a certain claim upon us. It occupies an actual gap. The sources of the history are defective, yet they show us quite enough to make us certain that we ought to know something which is concealed.

With the famous conferences in Jerusalem and Antioch we lose sight of the Apostle; we meet him only once more in the Apostolic writings, in First Corinthians, yet merely in such a way that while we learn of the continuance of his activity, we obtain no view of it. We are told that he travelled as an Apostle in company with his wife; and besides, that followers of his in Corinth founded a party on his name. If we would form a clearer conception, we must start with the statements in the Galatian letter; first, from the treaty according to which Peter was to maintain the mission to the Jews, as Paul that to the Gentiles; secondly, from the Apostle's leaning, which was evinced in Antioch, to a more complete union, a tendency which was repressed through the influence of James. We can only add as further indications two hints, which besides are rather negative in their character. The one is to be found in Jerusalem. From the above date onwards James was the sole leader of the Church there, and Peter was no longer even resident, at least for any length of time. The other hint occurs in Paul. He always speaks of Peter with the greatest respect, without any hostility, yet not from close intimacy.

If we combine these hints it is only possible to suppose that during the period covered by them Peter carried on his mission to the Jews, and that he did this, so to speak, in a neutral spirit, holding aloof from the anti-Pauline Judaism which emanated from

Jerusalem. We have no information as to the territory over which his labours extended; there is at first nothing to cause us to suppose they extended beyond Syria; we can infer from the instance of Corinth that he never went at least to Greece. Syria is indicated, not only by the fact of Peter having formerly gone from Jerusalem to Antioch, but still more, and for a lengthened time, by the consideration that that country, which had been Paul's main concern in his first missionary period, is unmentioned by him in his second, and was not included in the enumeration of the provinces of his Church: that, accordingly, he had entirely abandoned it. If we here compare the Petrine legends of the second century, we find that they confirm our conclusion. In the Ebionitic fiction of the pseudo-Clementines, Peter lives in Syria; here he bears the pure doctrine, and opposes the heresy of the Magian Simon. So far at any rate as the locality is concerned this may be a historical reminiscence; perhaps also a suggestion that he supplanted Paul in the district. Yet Paul was not the original of the Magian Simon of the fiction; the Acts already represents the latter as a historical person (viii. 9-24), and this he also probably was, though only in the humble form of a sooth-sayer. It is not to be supposed that the book meant by this incident to counteract calumnies against the Apostle Paul; but it may have transferred the meeting of Peter with Simon to the earlier period. The pseudo-Clementine fable is strictly a fiction, artificial, and composed with a purpose, in that it makes Peter dependent in his labours on James as his archbishop. We might be tempted also to adduce the address of the First Epistle of Peter; even if the letter was not written by him, it may have been due to his having once promoted the mission in the lands there mentioned—Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia. In Bithynia, as well as Pontus and Cappadocia, he would at least not cross Paul's path. Still more would this be the case in Galatia and Asia; in these instances the historical foundation seems to be wanting. But the whole is involved in this conclusion, and is also capable of a better explanation. Our conjecture is accordingly still limited to Syria.

But this does not yet end our inquiry. That Peter was ever the great authority is to be recognised from the Gospels themselves. We may not indeed ascribe to the reverence paid him in the Apostolic age all the narratives which confer distinction upon him and in which he occupies a unique position among the disciples of Jesus. What is essential in those narratives undoubtedly corresponded to fact. It is especially to be assumed as historical that it was Peter who at the decisive moment gave expression to the disciples' recognition of Jesus as the Messiah, and who would listen to nothing of a tragic issue, but pressed forward on the Messianic path; for that reason he also received his name from Jesus Himself. But the case is different when we find the Gospel of Matthew alone representing Jesus as declaring that the Church would be founded on this rock, and as conferring upon Peter a supreme legislative power. At first these words recall the fact that the chief Apostles were named pillars in the primitive Church. But there Peter shares the title with at least two others. Its being applied to him alone points to another territory where he actually held the leadership by himself. And this perfectly suits Syria and the period during which Peter held aloof from Jerusalem. This conjecture is independent of the question whether the First Gospel itself originated in Syria. But the mention of Peter in the above saying as the only pillar of the Church, in contradistinction to the estimate of James at Jerusalem, may contribute to explain the existence of two Jewish Christian parties in Corinth. Apart from this the Fourth Gospel furnishes us with a proof of the great position long occupied by him, a position which does not refer to the tradition of the primitive Church alone, but to a later activity that embraced Gentile Christianity (cf. John xxi. 11, 17). This book presupposes his authority in its full extent, and is only anxious that along with him another Apostle should receive his due.

With all this no relations have been shown to exist between Peter and the Roman Church. They are also, however, absolutely precluded by Paul's letter to the Romans and further, for the time

of Paul's residence in Rome, by that to the Philippians. The question does not here turn on the argument from the Apostle's silence, but on the fact that the conditions implied in the former, and described in the latter, would have been impossible if Peter had occupied a leading position, or been present, in Rome. Now it is further perfectly conceivable, quite apart from the fictions with a purpose of the succeeding age, that the idea should have afterwards arisen without any historical basis, that he who was so highly exalted above the other Apostles, in a tradition like that in Matthew's Gospel, must also have lived in the Church which soon became the capital of Christianity, and must have founded its authoritative dignity.

With this we might have rested content, had it not been for the letter of the Roman Church under the name of Clement, and written not much more than thirty years after the death of Paul. This letter, the only ancient authority which informs us of the death of Paul in Rome, is also the only one from which we learn that Peter suffered martyrdom. Peter and Paul are here cited as the most powerful and upright pillars who endured persecution and fought to the death. Peter is placed first; he suffered not one or two, but many afflictions, and so passed through martyrdom to his merited place of glory. This description is shorter than that given in Paul's case; nor is it expressly said of him, as it is of the latter, that he came to his end in Rome. Neither fact can disprove that he died in Rome; the words concerning Paul so much the less, as they to all appearance were borrowed by the author from a source. All the more strongly does the choice of these two examples speak for their belonging to Rome. The author passes from ancient examples of persecution issuing in death and springing from jealousy and envy, the ultimate cause of all murderous thoughts, to the types of endurance in the present generation; he first mentions the great and upright pillars in general and then calls upon his readers to contemplate the eminent Apostles. It is evident that in referring to Peter and Paul he takes up, not merely the greatest, but also

the nearest in time and place. And not only so, but in what follows he confines himself to what had occurred in Rome. With these men were assembled (at the supreme goal) a great multitude of the elect; they endured severe sufferings and have become a glorious type among us (ἐν ἡμῖν). And Peter is placed at the head of these examples taken from the immediate neighbourhood. The illustrative particulars cited by the author are examples of the horrors of Nero's persecution. All this supports the view that Peter, as well as Paul and the other victims of that time, suffered in Rome.

There is still another witness of high antiquity which proves the martyrdom of Peter, and also speaks indirectly for its having happened at a different place from that of his previous labours. In the appendix to the Fourth Gospel (xxi. 18 f.) a prophecy of the risen Jesus to Peter is related, in which the future death of the latter is announced: 'When thou shalt be old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and another shall gird thee, and carry thee whither thou wouldst not. This was meant to signify by what death he should glorify God.' Now it is characteristic of this book that all similar prophecies have a double meaning (*e.g.* ii. 20-22, xii. 32 f.). Such a double meaning is pointed to here, if we take the whole of Jesus' saying. We have first: 'When thou wast young, thou girdedst thyself, and walkedst whither thou wouldest.' For the mere prophecy of his death this is superfluous. It is only significant if it has a different meaning, which would apply, not to his death, but to his career or activity, viz., that in his earlier years Peter pursued his own course, but afterwards followed another. With this, however, we have to combine something else. Jesus' question to Peter, thrice repeated, whether he loved Him, and the thrice given commission on his affirmative answer, can only be understood in the figurative language of the Gospel of a life-task of the Apostle which repeatedly became a new vocation, doubtless in the sense that it was extended. There must accordingly have existed in the apostolic path of Peter such phases as justified this conception of a task to which he on each occasion

received a fresh appointment, and the closest analogy for the view is contained in the significance of the narrower and wider flock, which Jesus as the shepherd claims for Himself (John x. 16). This conjecture is further confirmed by the change of term—*ἀρνία* and *προβάτια*. Finally, completely to illustrate the meaning of those sayings, we must also take into account the preceding narrative of the one hundred and fifty-three fish caught by Peter, which have not only in any case a symbolical import, but have always since Jerome been applied, with the greatest probability, to the fulness of the Gentile nations. That all this is meant to describe prophetically the career of the Apostle as a whole can hardly be doubted, and the connection of the separate traits is unmistakable. The conception thus obtained shows us Peter first in his earliest vocation as leader of the primitive Church. But his vocation takes him further in two stages, so that he appears at last as he who gains the Gentile world for his Lord, and leads the great collective herd to pasture. Then, however, he no longer went his own way: it was another by whom he was himself led. He followed the Pauline mission.

The Roman residence of Peter is also indicated by the First Epistle of Peter in our Canon. Only on this historical presupposition could 1 Peter v. 13 have been written. So also the tradition that assigns Mark to Rome (Eus. *Hist. Ecc.*, iii. 39), without any express mention of Rome as a place where Peter preached, dates from the presbyter quoted by Papias.

Peter's later work may in reality have been more modest, and the cause of his passing beyond his earlier boundaries more simple. It is very natural to suppose, as regards the latter point, that the Jewish war may also have had inevitable consequences for this Apostle, and may have caused him to remove from his position in Syria. It is impossible to decide whether these external circumstances took him at once to Rome, or how he went there at all. It would, however, be quite in keeping with his character, if, after the storm which had swept over the Roman Church under Nero, he went to the city with the same faith-

inspired resoluteness with which in earlier days he returned to Jerusalem from Galilee in order to re-create the Church. We cannot raise the veil which shrouds these events. But conjectures of this sort, and the assumption of such a last phase in Peter's life, are supported as much by his character as by the splendour of the enduring fame which he won for his name. Peter had not Paul's unyielding independence which carved out a path for itself; he was the man of the moment, the leader in an hour of danger and decision —at other times pliable, even weak. So had he shown himself when a disciple of Jesus, so he still showed himself in the Apostolic age, in those earlier years in which his history can still be clearly followed by us. The man who in Antioch first unexpectedly advanced, then let himself as readily be driven back, can have long been restrained by the influences that checked him. But it was to be expected that he would not remain in durance for ever, that he would rather free himself once more and follow higher impulses. So he again came to the front, though only for a short time. Not only on this account, however, did the thoughts of the succeeding generation turn so decidedly to him, but perhaps simply because he was not the man of principles, but followed the course of events. He was both in his greatness and in his weaknesses more intelligible and more akin to the many.

In betaking himself to the centre of Gentile Christianity and of the universal Church, he undoubtedly followed in the first place the course of Paul; yet not in the sense that he had passed over to his doctrine. His action bears rather a different meaning. It was, doubtless, a universalist Christianity that remained in Rome after the death of Paul; not, however, the faith that in its main doctrines was influenced by the fight with and opposition to the demand for the law and the transition to Judaism. This universalism, on the contrary, rested essentially on the mingling of elements and the compromise which thus became necessary. Converted heathens as well as believing Jews no longer connected with the Synagogue, erewhile proselytes who had passed over to Christianity, and again in each of these parties men very different

in their earlier culture, all found themselves united in their faith, and tolerant of very manifold views and customs; yet at the same time they maintained a firm feeling of their communion in consequence of the essential element in their belief and of their rejection by the outer world. Their common possession was by no means merely a combination of different forms of thought, but a new system was produced in the midst of these, as distinguished from the time of conflict between Paul and Judaism. We may regard this development as the precipitate of the common faith in Christ, but also as a second Gentile Christianity in contradistinction to the Pauline, and emanating from believing Gentiles themselves. These two aspects coincide. During the time of conflict such a precipitate came into existence in wide circles whose members passed through the fight without fully taking part in it themselves; in it the ultimate motives which were present in both parties found more or less consciously their universal expression. The liberation thus consummated from the Judaistic demand was at the same time, however, a victory over the controversial tenets of Paul.

§ 6. *The Epistle of Clement and the Epistle to the Hebrews.*

If this process was involved in the nature of the case, yet its home *par excellence* was the Christianity which existed in a place like Rome, where the faith had been diffused among the heathen independently of the activity of the Apostle to the Gentiles, but also without any transition to Judaism. The letter to the Romans shows us how this happened at the first. But the Apostle has himself depicted in the Philippian letter the consequences of this independent formation, and of the converging of multifarious tendencies, while their strongest proof is the fact that he himself came to subordinate everything else to the one thought that in any case, in some form or other, Christ was preached.

The result of this proceess, however, lies before us in the Roman epistle of Clement, which in this respect we can make use

of as being in the highest degree a trustworthy, original historical authority. This writing belongs to the post-apostolic period. It throughout presupposes a tradition already fixed, whose authority it enforces as fundamental in the question at issue in the disputes at Corinth to which the letter owed its existence. The faith which here finds expression may be characterised absolutely as Gentile Christian, and that unaffected by the controversy with which the Pauline Gospel had still to concern itself. Neither is the observance of the law combined with it, nor is the demand for that observance opposed. The practical Christianity enforced by the letter consists in the fulfilment of moral duties. These are derived from the perception of the Divine government of the world and its benefits, from the types and doctrines of Holy Scripture, and from the pattern of Christ and the object—as explained by Himself—of His redemption. How entirely unprejudiced and independent was the author's mental attitude to the dispensation of the old covenant is shown most clearly by the manner in which he bases the constitution of the Church and its rights on the analogous rights of the priestly order, his meaning being that from the latter the necessity of an order in general is to be recognised. Highly as the Apostle Paul was honoured and his authority esteemed, his thought of justification by faith is retained only in a revised form: not in opposition to works, but merely in the sense that the Divine will is the ultimate source of all salvation. The impelling motives of faith in Christ, and the bases on which it was cultivated in the Church, can be perceived in the two starting-points, the idea of God and the Holy Scriptures. Natural theology, which contributes the broad foundation of faith and of ethical teaching, assumes a different form from that in Paul. For the revelation which calls for the response of worship is substituted the observation of the Divine government of the world, which directs us either to gratitude or imitation—monotheistic reflection.

Quite as characteristic is the use made of the Holy Scriptures. They are, in a host of quotations from the prophets and the

wisdom literature, the source of ethical knowledge. The question of the law is solved in a sense by the derivation from these books of the true wisdom of life. Next to the knowledge of God, the first place in the creed is taken by confidence in the resurrection, in which, as it were, the expectation of the kingdom is merged. Christ is conceived not as the Messiah, hardly in the Pauline sense as the Son who entered the human state, but as the representative of God and leader of men. The corruption of the world is ascribed to the passions of envy and jealousy; for the ruin effected by death is substituted the crime of murder. Like the vices, the virtues are also freely conceived from the experience and morals of actual life. We can everywhere recognise the connection of the writer's ideas with the conceptions and customs of the world to which these believers belonged. In harmony with that environment the thought is entirely devoted to practical life, with a sobriety as void of speculation, as of that inner relation to Christ which forms the mystical feature in Pauline doctrine. But over against this poverty of the religious conception, we have not only the peculiar spirit of the later type in general, but also the actual advance, the ethical power of a faith delivered from the first controversy. What we have before us is no longer the creation of the Apostolic Age, but it is the fruit of the origins which issued from it. The Roman Church assumed the character marked out for it from the first by its distinctive beginnings; it became the starting-point and centre of Gentile Christianity as the ethical and traditional conception of the Gospel. With this spirit it took irresistible possession of all around, and from it it derived its strength for an unyielding resistance.

The letter has taken so much from the Epistle to the Hebrews of the New Testament, that the latter is thus at once brought within the scope of our present examination. We cannot discover with certainty whether it was of itself specially connected with the Roman Church. It hardly requires proof that the inscription 'to the Hebrews' is only the unhappy conjecture of a later time,

derived from the comparison of sacrifice and priesthood under the old and new covenants. The only clue to the place to which it was addressed is contained in the greeting 'of those of Italy' to the readers (xiii. 24), which would point to its being directed to Rome. The closing words (xiii. 22-24) are, however, a puzzle from every point of view; the mention of Timothy seems meant to set us in the surroundings of Paul, and in that case we should require to refer xiii. 19 also to Paul, yet without the situation being made any clearer. Thus the question is suggested whether the entire last section (xiii. 18-24) is not an addition made to give the whole that character of a letter which otherwise it would not possess. From this it cannot be presumed with certainty, either that the document was addressed to Rome, or that it originated in Rome. All that we know is that it existed there and was held in high esteem at the time when Clement's letter was composed.

From this very fact, however, it supplements Clement's letter itself, and the knowledge we derive from it of the spirit of the Roman Church. According to its general aim the letter to the Hebrews is a reminder of the splendour of the possession bestowed in the Gospel, and of the responsibility based upon it, this being accompanied by the exhortation to persistence in the faith, both in thought and practice. What Christians possess in the Gospel is expounded in a series of comparisons learnedly discussed. The Word obtained its greatness from the Lord, whom Scripture ranks far above the angels; Christ is the Son where Moses was the servant; as the High Priest He is exalted, after the type of the royal priest Melchisedek, above the ancient priesthood, this sacrifice has accomplished what the former sacrifices could not. All this furnishes the motive for clinging to the confession, through that faith in God which guided all the pious of ancient times, to which all things are possible, and whose founder and perfecter it now possesses in Christ Jesus, the faith which endures all trials, and conducts to every virtue. The thoughts of the preparatory exposition are not only an attenuation of Pauline doctrine, as

well in the comparison of the priestly law and the work of Christ as in the doctrine of faith, but they involve a different mode of contemplating Scripture. In the discussion of faith the sacred writings are employed, as in the Epistle of Clement, as a collection of examples, in the preceding passage concerning the priestly order they are treated allegorically and thus used as a guide to the knowledge of the true priesthood and sacrifice. The spirit of a culture thoroughly Alexandrian is nowhere belied.

Now, while the speculations of this writing were not imported into the Epistle of Clement, its learned exposition of Scripture offered a welcome support for the practical aims of the latter. In both, the received religion assumed a new form; in the one, that of philosophico-religious reflection, in the other, that of monotheistic morality; the two concur in their idea of faith. Thus is explained the prevalent use of the letter to the Hebrews in Rome, even if it did not belong to that Church. In detail the epistle further contains exhortations which were likely to be specially called for at Rome. Included in these we have first the repeated and emphatic warning against defection from the faith and the meetings of the Church (iii. 12, vi. 6, x. 25, 29). We must not here think merely of a relapse on the part of the Jewish Christians into Judaism; we cannot even say with certainty whether the comparison of the old and new covenants has a polemical reference to that party; and in the warnings it is much rather, at least in part (*e.g.* iii. 12), the relapse into heathenism that is indicated. A time accordingly had come which brought with all its other severe tests the temptation to defection. Again, we are led to infer from vi. 2, that the Gentile Jewish proselytes who had become Christians came readily to revert and to cling to that earlier position; for what is there said —'that the Christian should not halt persistently at first principles like repentance from dead works, faith in God, the teaching of washings, laying on of hands, resurrection of the dead, and eternal judgment'—is only applicable to the proselytes, the Gentiles who had adhered to Judaism to the extent of believing in God and

the judgment, and of receiving a purification only to be obtained in connection therewith. Thus, side by side with defection, there also existed a vacillation which was, perhaps, still more dangerous to the stability of the Church.

From the Roman Church there also issued about the date of Clement's letter the Gospel of Mark, the most one-sided collection from the two kinds of material of which the evangelic tradition consisted, valuable, however, from its close adherence to its main exemplar in the narrative, and from the evidence it affords of the various classes of writings from which our Gospels were composed. Mark is Latin not only in its verbal forms and explanations, but also in the spirit in which Jesus is represented as a combatant and the first of the martyrs. Whether the writings of Luke also originated in Rome must be left undetermined, although the juxtaposition of Peter and Paul points to this. Other indications might suggest Asia as their birthplace, and there is a decided preponderance of reasons in favour of neither view.

The First Epistle of Peter may have been composed somewhat later, probably in consequence of, and with reference to, the persecution of the Christians in Bithynia under Trajan. The ideas contained in the letter are chiefly borrowed from Paul, but it has assumed the name of Peter, which was equally reverenced among all sections in the Church,—a conspicuous memorial of the force of feeling and action in the post-apostolic age.

The Second Epistle of Peter, on the other hand, as well as that under the name of Jude, both face to face with the crisis of the conflict with Gnosticism, belong to a period already separated from the Apostolic age by a wide gulf.

CHAPTER V

EPHESUS—JOHN

§ 1. *Re-institution of the Church.*

THE Apostolic age in the narrower sense closes with the year 70 A.D. The death of the Apostle Paul had already marked the termination both of the great mission which he had conducted, and of the opposition which it had provoked. The external relations continued to exist for some years yet, as long as the chief centre of Christianity remained in Jerusalem; this had also ceased, and the destruction of Jerusalem destroyed the last prospect of the restoration of the earlier status of its Church. Now no distinctive period of history is terminated at one definite moment, and everywhere in the same degree. Accordingly, impelling forces as well as created conditions will here also extend from the earlier into the immediately succeeding years. But it is not with this fact alone that we are concerned in the present case. It has long been the custom to give a wider meaning to the term, and to make the Apostolic age extend thirty years later. This section has been designated by the name of the Johannine period. For, from Irenaeus the Fathers can relate that one of the Twelve Apostles, John, the son of Zebedee, took up his seat in Ephesus, living there into the times of Trajan, the head of a great community and ecclesiastical province, and the creator of new thoughts and new life for the whole Church. As evidence of this five books in our New Testament Canon bear his name, the Fourth Gospel, three letters, and the Apocalypse Yet the tradition of

the ancient Church regarding these very writings is by no means uniform, and the doubts as to their origin have become the starting-point for criticisms, which have at last questioned altogether the fact of John's life and work in Ephesus. Besides, even in the second century, there existed a party in Asia Minor itself, which would have nothing to do with the Johannine origin of these writings. Elsewhere the absence of Apostolic characteristics was soon felt at least in the Apocalypse, and the scholars of Alexandria then considered it impossible that the Gospel and the Apocalypse should have been by the same author.

Centuries of belief in tradition forgot all this, until historical criticism found it impossible to regard the Gospel as Apostolical, and on the other hand ascribed the Apocalypse, whether Johannine or not, with all the greater certainty to the Apostolic age, dating its origin in the year 68, and characterising it as a genuine memorial of the period. Scholars began in consequence to examine the evidence for John's life in Ephesus, and to find it unsatisfactory. And finally the genuineness and antiquity of the Apocalypse were in turn questioned. The inquiry has arrived at a final result at no point in the whole question. The accounts of John's residence in Ephesus have not yet been by any means disproved. And the inquiry has to reckon with yet another historical fact, viz., with a development, wholly original and highly significant, of the Church of Asia Minor in the second century; and for this a starting-point is to be sought. Nay, the fact has never been wholly surmounted that, in spite of all doubts and difficulties, the Johannine literature is distinctively related to the spirit and life of the Apostolic Age.

The Church in Ephesus and Asia Minor was a wholly, or, at any rate, a predominantly Pauline institution. This also seems at first to create a difficulty in the way of the idea of a great Johannine epoch there. In point of fact, it is hardly to be regarded in that light. All that we know of the termination of Paul's long residence there discloses not only a gloomy result, but absolutely a destruction of all his work. He left, as he tells

us himself in 2 Cor., without hope, and barely escaping with his life. According to the source of the Acts, he passed Ephesus quite closely on his last journey to Jerusalem, but without visiting it. The editor gives want of time as the reason for this, yet Paul stopped at Miletus. According to this narrative the elders of the Church of Ephesus sought him out; that Church therefore still existed, and the words of Paul to the elders only anticipate dangers in the future. Even here we get a glimpse of the fact of the disorders. Accordingly, when we are afterwards told by the same book that Jews from Asia were at the root of the Apostle's fate in Jerusalem (xxi. 27, xxiv. 18), it looks quite as if this attack was merely to bring to a conclusion the work in which they had succeeded in Asia itself.

Now, the traces which in the unauthentic Pauline epistles point to Ephesus are worthy of note. Whether the letter to the Ephesians is to be here taken into account remains an open question, from the indisputable fact that the oldest documentary witnesses did not yet read 'in Ephesus' in its inscription. The mention of Tychicus (vi. 21), however, points more strongly to Ephesus than the addition to the address. In Acts (xx. 4) Tychicus is designated like Trophimus as an Asian, and the manner in which he is mentioned in the letter indicates that he was on confidential terms not only with the Apostle, but also with the readers. The letter then pictures relationships which do not at all correspond to the conditions existing in the time of Paul. Jewish and Gentile Christians confront one another in two distinct parties, and the point is to unite them (ii. 1, 3, 5, 11, 14-18). If this was really written with reference to Ephesus, it only proves that at the time a new state of matters had arisen, and that an attempt was to be made to bring the members back to the old ways of the Pauline Church.

The first letter to Timothy takes us more definitely to Ephesus. We are told in i. 3 that when he himself set out for Macedonia, Paul left Timothy behind in Ephesus with instructions to remain there. Now, this was impossible at the time to which we must

at first suppose the words to refer. When Paul wrote First Corinthians from Ephesus, he had, on the contrary, while remaining himself, sent Timothy to Corinth (iv. 17, xvi. 10); and on his final departure frem Ephesus, Timothy, according to 2 Cor. i. 1, fled with him. We have undoubtedly a journey made by the Apostle in the interval to Corinth, from which he returned to Ephesus, but that he had left Timothy behind to govern the Church cannot, apart from other difficulties, be at least gathered from 2 Cor. ii. 5, vii. 12. When, however, we search the letter itself for Ephesian affairs we are met first by the names of two men, Hymenaeus and Alexander (i. 20), whom the Apostle is represented as excommunicating on account of 'their shipwreck concerning the faith,' and of whom Alexander at least (Acts xix. 33) plays an obscure part as a Jew in the history of Paul's fortunes in Ephesus. We can further take into account here the polemic against Jews and Jewish doctrines (i. 3 ff.). But everything else, the whole remaining polemic of the letter, especially against Gnosticism, and the whole view of the relations of the Church, belong so completely to the late date when the writing was composed, and to the general aims of that time, that we need not expect any historical reminiscence of the more ancient period after Paul. The letter was not written for a Pauline Church in Ephesus. It is connected only superficially with the relations in which Paul stood.

This artificial connection with Ephesus is still more noticeable in the second letter to Timothy, and in this case it is not even consistently maintained. Prisca and Aquilas are greeted in iv. 19 as in Rom. xvi. 3. The hostile Alexander again appears (iv. 14), and this time as a smith, a statement which is consistent with the narrative in Acts xix. Now, the discussion of persons and events in Ephesus is worthy of note (i. 15-18); it reads exactly like a narrative meant for some one who required to be informed of them, though in the introduction it is stated that Timothy knew it all perfectly. So also it is mentioned (in iv. 12) that the Apostle had sent Tychicus to Ephesus, just as if it had been a third place; and yet Timothy is thought of as being in Ephesus, though, indeed,

intending to leave and go to the Apostle (iv. 13). The whole letter is a mosaic-like imitation, formed not only from the epistles of Paul and the Acts, but even from 1 Timothy. It also opposes Gnosticism, but it especially exhibits the Apostle as the man in possession of the genuine tradition. It is, however, nowhere possible to perceive that the author had before his eyes the Pauline Church as still existent in Ephesus. Ephesus, like Timothy, the person addressed, is only a name used as a starting-point from which to pursue general aims. In other words, not only were these letters not composed by the Apostle Paul, but they do not even prove the continuance of the Pauline Church in Ephesus, and they were not written for it. On the contrary, it may be conjectured that at the time of their composition no knowledge existed of any such continuance, and that therefore the gap was meant to be supplied by their means.

Now, all this is confronted by the fact that in the Apocalypse not only are seven Churches presupposed by the dedicatory letters as existing and comparatively flourishing in the provinces of Asia, but that in particular the Church of Ephesus is placed at their head. It is honourably mentioned, having guarded itself against false prophets and having hated the works of the Nicolaitans (ii. 2, 6); it had also attested itself by patience and a steadfast confession (ii. 3). But the praise is not without qualification. Its first love endures no longer, its former works have passed away; it stood so high and now has fallen (ii. 4, 5). Now, this first period whose disappearance is deplored, and which is exhibited to the present as a splendid memory, cannot possibly have been the Pauline epoch in Ephesus. We need not suppose that the Apocalypse was directed against Paul and that the latter was conceived to be a false Apostle; but neither the book nor the author's thought is Pauline; and the period cannot have possessed for him the significance here implied. He is speaking accordingly of a different, of a second beginning of the Ephesian Church. After the destruction of Paul's work, a new structure must have been erected on the ruins. Even this epoch now belonged already to the past.

The Church in Ephesus lived to some extent upon its renown; it was still the first among those of Asia; but it again needed regeneration. From this relationship to events it is perfectly evident that the words addressed to it cannot have been written as early as the reign of Galba, in the year 68.

§ 2. *The Johannine Tradition.*

While the fact of such a new institution of the Church must be accepted as certain, we learn little at first as to how and by whom it was effected. We obtain no information directly bearing on this point, either in the New Testament, or in the earliest Church literature. We obtain the key to the question, however, if it can be established that the Apostle John governed the Church in Ephesus in the last years of the century. And this is, in fact, supported by evidence that up to the present day cannot be regarded as having been shaken. The first and by itself sufficient proof is the Apocalypse of John, with the relation to be recognised in it between that Apostle and Ephesus and the Church of Asia. If the Apocalypse was composed by the Apostle himself, his residence in Ephesus is at once proved; if by another writing under his name, we arrive at the same result, because no one could have ventured to make such a representation if John had not been in Ephesus.

To this a second proof is however added, one dating from the second century, by the much-discussed letter of Irenaeus to Florinus, written in the time of the Emperor Commodus (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* v. 20). According to it Irenaeus had in his youth heard Polycarp of Smyrna, and he attached peculiar value to what the latter was able to tell of the testimony given by eye-witnesses of Jesus' life. Among these, however, he gives the greatest prominence to John, who is by this very fact designated, doubtlessly, as an Apostle, while, on the other hand, Polycarp's intercourse with him points to his residence in Asia Minor. But the letter, whose authenticity in whole as in detail cannot be reasonably disputed, furnishes us with

the basis on which to estimate the other statements of Irenaeus as to John. What he tells of the Apostle's life must be substantially correct, at least in its external circumstances; he obtained it from a source of the highest rank. To it belong the following statements (Iren. *Haer.* iii. 3): 'The Church was founded by Paul; John then dwelt there into the time of Trajan:' the latter fact being also stated in *Haer.* ii. 2. Further, according to *Haer.* iii. 1, John composed the Gospel in Ephesus. From iii. 3, Irenaeus knew from Polycarp that in Ephesus John once encountered the heretic Cerinthus. In all these cases Irenaeus undoubtedly means John the disciple; he describes him as the disciple of the Lord, and as him who lay on the breast of Jesus. It may be objected against details in this information of Irenaeus that they are given at second-hand. But it is not so with the fact that John was in Ephesus; and a mistake as to the individual is the more precluded, the more important he was. It is quite certain that Irenaeus has made a mistake in another instance which challenges comparison, namely, in calling Papias of Hierapolis also a hearer of John, which he undoubtedly was not, the opinion therefore being only an erroneous conclusion from words of Papias. But there is a great difference between this and the other instance, for here Irenaeus makes no reference to having had any independent information about Papias. It is therefore inadmissible to reason back to a misconception in the former case. The same thing applies to other passages where he has (as *Haer.* iv. 27, 32) confused a disciple of the Apostles, of whom he knew nothing more, with a disciple of Jesus.

We undoubtedly know of another John in Asia Minor in the second century: he is distinguished by the name of πρεσβύτερος by Papias (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 39), who quotes him in addition to the Apostle John as an authority for a genuine tradition of the Lord's sayings. But the fact that Irenaeus does not mention this John cannot furnish any reason for holding that he had confused him with the Apostle. This view is contradicted by the stress which Irenaeus lays on the Apostolic character of his John. There is not even an ancient witness to the second John having been in

Ephesus. It is to be observed from the words of Papias that he lived down to his time; from this it follows that he came much too near to Irenaeus also in point of date for it to have been possible for the latter to confound him readily with the Apostle. If, nevertheless, Papias designates the presbyter John as well as Aristion as a disciple of the Lord Himself, it is much more natural to admit a want of clearness on the part of the writer, which is all the more intelligible as he did not himself know John, but had only learned of him at second-hand. His information may have misled his judgment, though what he gives of it would have sufficed for our recognising in the presbyter a man, not of the Apostolic, but of the immediately succeeding generation. But had he been the former, the Johannine writings would not have been the least bit easier of explanation than if they came from the Apostle John. This nail is too weak to support the whole Johannine tradition.

We may let the proof given by Irenaeus from Polycarp suffice, along with the testimony of the Apocalypse, to verify in the second century the Ephesian residence of the Apostle. It is more than tradition, it is direct documentary evidence. In addition to this, the letter of Bishop Polycrates of Ephesus to Victor of Rome, about A.D. 190, is at any rate very important. Here we have tradition, but it is local; the Apostle's grave was before his eyes. It is true that, among his witnesses for the celebration of the Passover, Polycrates mentions Philip before John, and that he only designates the former expressly as one of the Twelve. But if the title is wanting in John's case, its place is amply supplied by the phrase, 'who lay on the Lord's breast.' The writer calls him martyr and teacher; the former agrees with the Apocalypse, the latter with the statements of Polycarp. And even his saying, 'that he became a priest, bearing the frontal plate of the High Priest' need not startle us. It is hardly to be explained as mere rhetoric. If we must, however, apply it to John as he actually appeared, it only gives an indication of the view we have to form of himself and the circle in which he lived and laboured.

He remained a Jew, and similarly his Church was Jewish Christian.

If we combine the preceding, we have in the meantime arrived at a twofold result. First, we must suppose that the Church which Paul had founded in Ephesus was destroyed, or at least deeply shaken, at his departure, and that it was not restored on the old foundations. But, secondly, it seems certain that in the following years of the first century a Church was refounded, and that the Apostle John stood at its head. This can only be regarded as a further Apostolic creation which at once makes the highest claims on our attention, simply because it emanated from an original Apostle, and yet can no longer be assigned to the primitive Church. Its significance is, however, increased by the fact that it bore considerable fruits. Asia Minor, the country which in the second century could point to the flourishing arts of the sophist and orator, and, in any case, to a noteworthy spiritual life on the soil of Greek paganism, was also the home of a pre-eminent development of the Christian spirit and Christian thought. In Asia Minor and in Alexandria Christianity had become a philosophy: the bloom of the former preceding the latter in point of time. According to the idea given of him by Irenaeus, Polycarp had in Smyrna a school around him that already united men of every class, and attracted social circles which could lay claim to a high degree of culture. Christianity is represented as having at first confronted Justin Martyr in Ephesus as a kind of philosophical school, which captivated him because it offered him something higher than any other. In Asia Minor there were settled highly-esteemed Apologists like Melito of Sardis, Apollinaris of Hierapolis, and a whole series of others whose names are famous, prolific writers on all subjects belonging to Christian life and thought, and on philosophical matters most closely related to religious questions. No other section of the Church had at that time anything similar to show. From the same country emanated the great movement of Montanism, and it was there that the first and most severe spiritual conflict was waged over the heresy. In

Asia Minor, again, there arose the first great division of opinions as to the nature of Christ. Thence issued Monarchianism in its various branches. There, in connection with the same subject, the controversy raged round the Johannine writings. In the Passover dispute the proud Church of Asia Minor maintained the authority of its tradition unshaken. All this falls into the second half of the second century; but the men of that time at least believed that their school reached back into the period of the Apostle himself. While the vigour of the Church of Asia Minor is therefore no proof of the existence of an Apostolic school there, it yet points in that direction. We must never lose sight of this presupposition when examining the Johannine literature as to its time and place, and especially its historical position.

This literature belonged to Asia Minor. In the case of the Apocalypse that fact is manifest and unmistakable. But even in the Fourth Gospel traces are not wanting which, though they do not produce irrefragable certainty, are yet strongly suggestive of the same conclusion. In the Easter controversy it was the Church of Asia Minor, with Ephesus at its head, that celebrated the great festival with the Eucharist on the 14th Nisan; and according to the testimony of Apollinaris that day was to the great majority, and in the prevailing view, the day of Jesus' death. With this the Fourth Gospel agrees, and it is the only one that contains the above date for the Crucifixion. Several of the Twelve appear in the Gospel both as actors and speakers, of whom the Synoptics have preserved nothing but the statement of their names in their lists of the Apostles, viz.: Andrew, Philip, Thomas, Nathanael (whose name is a synonym for Matthew), Judas. Then Papias zealously collected in Asia Minor the oral tradition as to communications imparted by disciples of the Lord. Among the names of the latter whom he has quoted we again find Philip, Thomas, and Matthew. The affinity of the tradition is at once obvious. Philip, who had lived in his own home of Hierapolis, was in particular a high authority in the eyes of Papias, and he is also named as such by Polycrates of Ephesus. He is the same

Philip who in the Fourth Gospel brought Greeks to Jesus in the last days in Jerusalem. Looking to the method of the Gospel, this can only be conceived as an allegorical presentation of a historical fact. We cannot fail to see, however, that according to Papias several of the Twelve Apostles had ultimately settled in Asia Minor, and that it is their names which are made prominent in the Fourth Gospel. Wholly apart from the Johannine question, we are therefore led to presume that this book also originated in Asia Minor.

If, therefore, the evidence indicates that both Gospel and Apocalypse possessed the same birthplace, our conclusion is not contradicted by their differences being too great to permit of their having had one and the same author. The dissimilarity is great enough to preclude their being written by the same person; but the affinity is also great enough to prove the same home. This affinity is sufficiently demonstrated by the single fact that both these books, and these alone in the New Testament, nay, in the whole literature which from its date can be compared with them, announce Jesus as the Divine Logos. With this the Gospel begins its narrative. The Apocalypse represents the name, which is at present still a mystery and subject of promise, as being revealed on Jesus' solemn arrival at the judgment-seat. It cannot be objected that the word, not the notion, is alone the same in both books. Undoubtedly the Apocalypse has not like the Gospel explained what was involved in the conception, namely, the being with God before the world, and the creation of the world by the agency of the Logos. But it has given no explanation at all, and therefore no one can say that in it the conception is different. We would have first to indicate the existence of another conception anywhere at all. The whole significance of the matter in the Apocalypse consists in its set purpose to reveal in the most solemn manner as the great secret of the Person of Jesus that He is the Logos of God, ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ. This knowledge is from its introduction a new thing, and is the highest utterance possible concerning Jesus. Here the notion is certainly not conceived in a less

exalted sense than that attached to it in the Gospel. Accordingly, since both books introduce the name of Logos as applying to Christ, both have come from the place whence this thought emanated.

In addition to this, it is further to be observed that both have designated Jesus as the Lamb, a title which, in the New Testament at least, recurs only in First Peter. Everything else is secondary. Yet echoes of distinctive thoughts and figures occur elsewhere in sufficient numbers to prove a certain affinity in the soil from which they have sprung. The absence of a temple in the New Jerusalem at once recalls the Divine service, spiritual and without a temple, of the Gospel. So, also, the Apocalypse shares with the latter the water of life, the coming of Jesus to and dwelling with His own, the notions of ἀγάπη and ἔργα in the comprehensive sense of the Gospel. All that may be adduced in this way is far from justifying the conjecture that they were by the same author, but it is sufficient for the presumption that they both drew from the same source. And at the same time the extent of the internal affinity serves to confirm the external features which point in the case of both to their origin in Asia Minor, in Ephesus. Of course, we have not yet set aside the question, whether the affinity does not rest on the dependence of the one book on the other. No one, indeed, would readily state this hypothesis in the form that the Apocalypse drew from the Gospel. But even the other alternative is only a general possibility which disappears on a slight examination. The Gospel is much too distinctive and original to be a translation into a higher form of thought—even in the sense of a counterpart—of material given in the Apocalypse; besides, the evidence is very far from being sufficient to justify this opinion. The relationship is of such a nature that the books move independently side by side, only to some extent bordering one another.

Thus we are in the meantime led to suppose the existence of a Johannine school in Ephesus. John's residence and activity there have their parallel in the case of Philip in Hierapolis. But the whole conception current in the period that immediately followed of the precedent-forming mission of the Twelve Apostles was not entirely built in the air.

CHAPTER VI

EPHESUS—THE APOCALYPSE

§ 1. *Its Composition.*

The Apocalypse of John has already (vol. ii. page 19) been made use of conjecturally, some of its visions being referred to the latest periods of the Church in Jerusalem. In doing so it was presupposed that the book had adopted a number of these ancient prophecies: and the proof of this—so far as proof is possible—must now be led. Since I started the view that the book was to be regarded as a composite work, the preference has frequently been given to another form of compilation, namely, not from single visions which lay before the author, but from various comprehensive Apocalyptic writings which were represented either as revisions one of the other, or as having served an editor as materials which he wrought into each other. I cannot give up the conception I have held for so many years. In the first place, because the explanation of the details seems more accurate. Secondly, however, because the composition of the whole is more easily understood, and there is no occasion for a capricious treatment of the text in the way of elimination and far-fetched combinations. We can quite well conceive of single visions of the book existing by themselves. On the other hand, it would be hardly possible to construct in any likely form whole writings as its sources. For the rest, we cannot do more than form conjectures, and I do not hold it to be any advantage to seek in an essay on such matters to pronounce confidently on the origin of every sentence.

The two principal writings which bear the name of John are products of the Church of Asia Minor, and the whole circumstances justify the opinion that they emanated from the school of the Apostle. Neither of them, however, is his own work. We can therefore only reason indirectly from them to his labours and the conditions and spirit of his Church. In order to attempt this at all, it is first necessary to examine the writings, and thus to obtain the starting-point for our conclusions.

The Apocalypse of John was not written by the Apostle. Nor is it the transcription of a revelation or vision experienced by the author on a single day. Further, it is not the product of a homogeneous conception.

As regards the author, we may begin with the fact that among all the similar writings of Jewish and early Christian origin, we do not know of a single one which bears the name of its actual writer. The whole of the Apocalyptic books of that time range their prophecies under the authority of some great name belonging to the past. The Book of Hermas alone seems to form an exception. But apart from the fact that even in the case of this writing unity of authorship is at least very doubtful, it does not itself keep to the period of that Hermas, who is represented as having been a brother of the Roman Bishop Pius; it purports to have been written in the time of Clement of Rome, a date to which it is certain that no portion of it goes back. Now this general observation does not indeed preclude the possibility of John having written under his own name. It is also to be admitted that the present instance, where the composition dates not long after John's life, is somewhat different from the case of those books which purport to have been written by men of hoary antiquity, men like Ezra, or Noah and Enoch. But there is always a strong presumption that the universal habit of employing this artifice has also been followed here. The conjecture becomes a conviction if we obtain grounds in support of it from the book itself. We may leave out of account the reflection that in none of the instances in which Jesus speaks to John in the

book is there the slightest trace of any personal relation between them; that He is viewed only under Daniel's type as being like a son of man (Rev. i. 13, (17)), or under that of the Lamb that was slain (v. 6, xiii. 8); and that even where the Twelve Apostles are mentioned, they are spoken of exclusively as third persons (xxi. 14). That can certainly be explained at a pinch from the character of the vision. It is also, indeed, striking that John the Seer (i. 1, 4, 9; xxii. 8), is never called an Apostle, but δοῦλος (i. 1), σύνδουλος (xix. 10, xxii. 9), ἀδελφός (i. 9), προφήτης (xxii. 9), and then the gift of prophecy is ascribed to every witness to Jesus (xix. 10). Still more striking on the assumption of John's authorship would be his having regarded the temple as not liable to destruction (xi. 1 f.). This utterance, coming from the lips of one of the original Apostles, would do away with one of the best attested sayings in the tradition of the Synoptics. But the language of the Apocalypse itself contains indications that the author merely derived what he tells from John. According to the inscription, the book is a revelation of Jesus, which He was empowered by God to make, and which He imparted to John by His angel; but even at this point it is said of John, that 'he bore witness of the Word of God and of the testimony of Jesus Christ, even of all things that he saw,' attesting accordingly the whole contents of the book; the most natural explanation of these words is in any case that they are an involuntary appeal by the author to the testimony of John as that of a third party. This is not rebutted by the words in the closing paragraph of the book, 'And I, John, am he that saw and heard these things,' a sentence used to confirm the benediction pronounced upon him who kept the words of the prophecy of this book. On the contrary, this concluding section itself shows clearly how the appeal to the testimony of John forms part of the setting of the book. For in the sequel, Jesus is immediately afterwards introduced as speaking in exactly the same manner, in order to give in a colloquy with the Church His testimony in support of the prophecy. There is, therefore, no difficulty in

perceiving that the name of the Apostle served to introduce the prophecy in the customary fashion of such representations.

The whole character of the work shows us, however, that it is not the record of a vision experienced once for all. In it we have neither a great picture complete in itself, nor a succession of such scenes arranged in a natural sequence, but a complicated composition, which amid all sorts of digressions adheres to an artificial order, and recovers the connection, sometimes by anticipatory, sometimes by recapitulatory references. Throughout the whole plan we find evidence of reflection and art; the style is not that of the immediate spiritual utterance of the seer and prophet, but of the thought-out creation of the literary artist. And to this is added a special circumstance. The book is compiled to a very considerable extent from Old Testament passages, especially from the Prophets; or these are, at any rate, woven into it, forming indeed a motley fabric of quotations and allusions. This also is literary art; it is not the style in which the living intuition in the spirit expresses itself.

Now, simply because the book bears, on the whole, this character of being a thought-out and scholarly work, it is on the other hand the more important that it has not at all the appearance of having been moulded on one plan, but contains sections, whose features are very different. In the first place, two of these strike us as much by their similarity to each other, as by their difference from all the rest; they are the introductory epistles to the seven Churches of Asia, and the concluding section in chap. xxi. and xxii. Neither has any more immediate connection with the great prophecies of the book. This is not in itself surprising. The letters and the announcement of the final re-creation of the world form the framework for the prophecies which apply to the definite period, and they are therefore necessarily distinguished from the latter by their more general contents. But it is undeniably striking, that there is an utter absence in the letters to the Churches of any allusion to the situation and events of the time brought before us in the prophecies, and that in the concluding exhortations again it is

equally impossible to recognise any such reference. It is rather the quite general character of the admonitions that imparts to these sections their distinctive colouring. When further we look at the prophecies, we find first that the unity of the book is secured by the sequence of the thrice repeated seven signs and scenes, namely, the seven seals, the seven trumpets, and the seven vials. But the chief parts of the prophecy do not fit in with this plan. The threefold division in the above outline recalls involuntarily the scheme of the Apocalyptic discourses in the Synoptics, viz., preparation, woes, and consummation; and it is in this sense that the outline has been conceived. The symbols, however, do not adapt themselves to the division, and have nothing to do with it. From their very contents they are of a wholly different character. Under the thrice seven signs are announced on the one hand destructive wars, described quite indefinitely, but on the other, and to a preponderating degree, natural plagues, violent interferences with nature, miraculous and destructive phenomena in nature—the description being marked by all sorts of repetitions and by considerable uniformity. So many passages had to be filled up, and this has been done with little genius, with a grotesque and yet poor fancy.

Of a wholly different character are the great main symbols in xi., xii., xiii., and xvii. These are all concerned with history; the material is derived from actual fact, or adheres closely to it, and the prophecy holds out more or less clearly a prospect of certain events. In contrast with the monotony of design in the other sections, we now have throughout living motives, pictures of the experiences and thoughts of the time. But even in respect of form, these sections do not fit in with the plan of the book. Already towards the close of the seven seals—between the sixth and seventh—such symbols are interpolated without any proper connection (chap. vii.). Similarly, between the sixth and seventh trumpets (chap. xi.) a prophecy has been inserted which at once transports us to wholly different ground, and is therefore also introduced by scenery of its own (chap. x.). Then we have, either

following the seven trumpets, or inserted between them (chap. xii. and xiii.) two important and wholly distinct main symbols of the prophecy, which is again brought first into line with the earlier course of the book in chap. xiv. And after the seven vials the same thing is once more repeated in the case of the great symbols in chap. xvii. and xviii., which again have no connection whatever with the plagues. These main sections of the prophecy are all destitute of any natural relation to the ground plan of the dramatic structure of the book: they have rather been forced into it, being also generally distinguished from the arrangement followed in the other sections by the fact that they are not exhibited by an angel, but are introduced simply as visions (*e.g.* xii. 1, xiii. 1, xiv. 1); they have therefore been long and frequently described as episodes in the composition. But if anything definite be meant by this, it can only be that they had a special origin. Either they have found their way into the book through the revision of an already completed writing; or the author has himself incorporated them in his work.

Besides this, the main sections thus adopted do not by any means possess that character of homogeneity which would point to a common origin. Their examination rather shows that they did not come into existence in the same place. We find ourselves in the vision of chap. xi. wholly in Jerusalem and Judaea. Even in chap. xii. the stand-point of the spectator is changed. This symbol did not originate amid the same circumstances as the preceding. At the same time it gives us a striking example of a double editorship. The vision in xii. 1-12 is complete and is concluded with a hymn of praise, which leads into something wholly different. Then in ver. 13-17 the vision is once more taken up unexpectedly, and, while apparently only detailed more fully, it in reality receives a wider application. As a continuation of what precedes, this is forced and obscure, only intelligible if a new editor sought to make something else of the symbol. And the visions of the beast in chap. xiii. and xvii. have no longer anything at all to do with Judaea. It is further of the greatest

importance for our view of the origin of the book that visions are repeated, and on their repetition receive sometimes a different form and colouring, sometimes a different interpretation. Thus the 144,000 elect, the adherents of Jewish Christianity in the twelve tribes, are represented in chap. vii. as the saintly remnant of the nation; in chap. xiv., on the other hand, they form the kernel of the believers, the band which has proved itself by its chastity to be especially holy. So the beast from the abyss is twice described (chap. xiii. and xvii.), not wholly alike, and twice explained; in the second instance it is not the main symbol, but is combined with that of the woman. This repetition, with the changes, certainly does not take us back to an identical origin. Besides, the traces of alien portions having been received into the book extend beyond these important main sections into subordinate parts. We are startled by repetitions of such an epoch-making character as xi. 19, and xv. 5. The short section xiv. 6-13 is to be recognised as a distinct passage, from the fact that in it there appear in succession three angels who are numbered, this enumeration not being continued, nor occurring anywhere else in the book.

Conversely, the author has not carried out certain features in his plan. The three last trumpets should have been followed by three woes; the two first are alone detailed (ix. 12, xi. 14); the third is left out, as is shown by the omission of the concluding formula employed in ix. 12, and xi. 14, an omission that is not supplied by the hymn—which besides is borrowed—with the cry of distress (xii. 12). Even the second, however, is no longer found in its right place; it rather belongs, from the analogy of ix. 12, to the sixth trumpet, to the plague described in ix. 13-21, and should therefore follow ix. 21. Again the author has introduced certain features prematurely, as in the instance of the beast from the abyss (xi. 7), here unintelligible, and of the form of the beast (xii. 3) in the dragon, which is besides in this piece the real dragon, that is, Satan. These anticipations are inexplicable if the author meant by these symbols to proceed from one

section of his prophecy to the other; but they are perfectly intelligible if he took up visions of varied origin, and intended to bring them into some kind of connection. As they stand therefore, they look quite like quotations.

Finally, we have here further to mention the transition section chap x., which in many respects is so puzzling. The seer hears a prophecy, that of the seven thunders (x. 3 f.), which yet he may not proclaim, but must 'seal up.' On the other hand, (x. 8-11) a new book is given him which is at first sweet, but afterwards bitter to the taste, whereupon he is again permitted to prophesy. The explanation is, after all, but half satisfactory, that both these incidents are merely meant to prepare for the great disclosures that follow. By the new book (cf. v. 1 f.) it seems rather to be suggested that we have here the beginning of the passage inserted from a new source, and as this source is adopted, so in what precedes we may have the rejection of another.

§ 2. *The Date.*

Observations like the latter make it appear probable that we have before us, not so much several revisions of one primary writing, as a work whose author has collected and formed into one whole existing materials of a similar character. This assumption best agrees with the fact that the whole material, which it is difficult to harmonise, has been forced into the framework of a plan externally uniform; and it is also most consistent with the circumstance that the main sections, so full of matter, are almost without exception perfectly independent, and are therefore really liker collected writings than constituent parts of various complete revisions. We have now, however, something further to consider, viz., the question of date. If the separate portions and Apocalyptic symbols of the book did not possess the same origin, then this other question is also complex: it first takes the form of a query as to the earlier and later limits which are to be discovered in the book.

Some of the sections take us to a pretty early date. The above discussed prophecy in chap. xi., assuming as it does that the temple in Jerusalem had not yet been destroyed by the heathens, can certainly only have been outlined before the year A.D. 70. Such sayings can be preserved and handed on even after they have been refuted by the facts. It is always open to resort to an artificial explanation. But their first conception and utterance are only possible before the occurrence of the facts that refute them. Moreover, the early origin of the prophecy, even if we must limit our view to this single section, at once supports the opinion that the separate parts have come from different sources; that is, if we consider on the other hand the manifold indications of a later date, indications among which are especially prominent the controversy with distinctly Gnostic doctrines in the epistles, and the evidence that the martyrdom of Christians was no longer infrequent. In particular, the Apostle is himself thought of as a martyr, at least in the more general sense (i. 9); we here find him in Patmos, involved in the afflictions that had overtaken the Christians in Asia, and that expressly on account of the Word of God and the testimony of Jesus. The old explanation that John had been banished to the island from Ephesus under Domitian is doubtless quite correct. It is a matter of indifference whether another tradition existed or not. There is no doubt as to the meaning of the book in this passage, so far as the matter itself is concerned. And as regards the date we have no great choice. It will always remain most probable that we must bring it down to the period at which the Roman state-trials of the Christians had become more general; in this respect the reign of Domitian is the earliest that can be adopted. In that case there would be an interval of about thirty years between the origin of certain older portions, and that of the book as we have it in its present form.

But we can bring down the later limit still further, and the above-mentioned indications seem to invite us to do so. Meanwhile we are confronted by a limit, which is decisive, until con-

vincing reasons of a special nature can be made good against it. This limitation rests on the whole colouring, the spirit, the view of the surrounding world, the atmosphere, as it were, in which the book moves. Its characteristics in this respect point unmistakably to its origin in the first century. We can besides easily divide this general observation into its separate features. The indication furnished by the introduction of the logos doctrine as something new is not beyond dispute; for we have no certain proof of the date when the latter originated. Still we can at any rate infer from the age of the Fourth Gospel that the completion of the Apocalypse can hardly be dated much after the end of the first century; since this very introduction of the doctrine certainly belongs to the latest contents of the book. Again, we are led to look to the first century by the Apocalyptic scheme with its threefold division of all the expectations of the future, a scheme which the book shares with the Synoptic Apocalypses, and which belongs likewise to the plan of its latest author. In addition to these internal features, partly in the contents and partly in the form, this date is supported still more strongly by the chronological marks. Internally, the whole book is still devoid of the idea of the Christian Church which had already existed for a considerable time, and now possessed a fixed superstructure. It is instructive in this respect to compare the Apocalyptic presuppositions and symbols of the Book of Hermas. In the latter the Church is throughout the subject whose future is discussed. The Johannine Apocalyse shows us nothing of the sort; it knows only of the believers dispersed amid the world, and the sacred remnant of Israel as forming their kernel. Externally, the relation of the book to Judaism is distinctive; the believers in Christ are the true Jews; the actual Jews, who proudly assume the name, still wrongfully arrogate it to themselves. Hostility to them is a fundamental feature, whose strongest possible expression is contained in the expectation that the false prophet will enter the service of heathenism. It is the rejoinder to the hatred of the Jews themselves; and the power still exerted over the thoughts of

the Christians by this very relationship corresponds perfectly to the conditions existing after the destruction of Jerusalem. The case is similar, however, with the heathen empire of Rome. Throughout, the impressions of the first hostile collision are still fresh. This also changed very soon—after the Church had learned in spite of temporary persecutions to build itself up under that power. There never recurred in the second century a period in which there could have existed, hour by hour, so restless and anxious an expectancy of a violent effort on the part of Rome to annihilate the faith. Taking these facts together, the attitude to the Jews and that to the world-power of Rome, we find that the possibility of locating such a combination of feelings soon comes to an end: there is no room for it after the Jewish nation was finally subjugated by that power under Hadrian, in a manner wholly favourable to the advance of the Christian Church, but in any case inaugurative of a totally different view of her surroundings. We can still see from the Sibylline Oracles (v. 40-50) how Emperor and Empire were mirrored in the views of their Christian contemporaries in the first half of the second century.

This position of the whole book is not, however, by itself, decisive, since the latter contains definite prophetic symbols which must in any case be so far defined by contemporary events and conditions as to make it possible from these to discover the date. To this class the woes and announcements of judgment in thrice sevenfold symbols undoubtedly do not belong, for they are almost without exception much too general, and are not related to definite events. At the most such a reference can be found in the horsemen after the opening of the first four seals, as an allusion to the succession of the first emperors; for the fifth seal with the martyrs' cry of woe can be interpreted to apply to Nero. Yet even here no traits are given and carried out definite enough to permit of our basing confident conclusions upon them; even the succession of the Emperors is not continued. Elsewhere it is noteworthy that after the seventh trumpet and also after the sixth vial devastating forces issue from the Euphrates. But the details are so obscure.

and so concealed in symbols of the supernatural, that nothing more precise can be inferred from them. The only result we obtain is that at this period the Parthians were the subject of great and dismal anticipations. This leaves us with a very wide room for choice, and teaches us nothing that we did not know before. The Parthians are not brought into any connection with the prophecies as to the Roman Emperors.

Just as little can we use the prophecies concerning Jerusalem in chap. xi. and the flight of the woman in chap. xii., prophecies which relate to the times of the Jewish war. For there can be no doubt that the following sections as to the imperial power and Rome are later, simply because the downfall of the Jewish state had manifestly been accomplished, and the whole ground had therewith been changed.

Thus, then, for our evidence as to the date when the book was completed we are left with nothing but the symbols which apply to Rome, in so far as these are not succeeded by anything that could furnish still wider foundations, and therefore lead us to a later time. That these symbols are on the whole derived from history is so definitely indicated by the author (cf. xiii. 3, 10, 18, xvii. 8, 10, 11), that there can be no doubt of the fact. It must be possible therefore to discover, in spite of all the disguise made use of, what events, past and present, lay before the author; the only point is to define the limit where his knowledge ceased and his imagination began. If this is not attended to, we constantly run a risk of seeking originals which never existed for imaginative symbols of the future, and thus of explaining his fancy pictures by our own. In that case, it is in effect quite the same whether we look for the latter in the primitive Christian period, or in the history of the world up to the present day. The point is not to discover what served the author as his model, but how he under certain circumstances arrived at his symbols. That this way of putting the question is not merely a matter of precaution but inevitable, is at once proved by the fact that the author has borrowed the groundwork of his symbols and a whole

number of individual traits from the ancient prophets, especially Daniel, and that he has forced these into a connection with the features of contemporary history. We need not rack our brains guessing at the meaning of xiii. 7, according to which the beast is given power to wage war upon the saints, nor need we suppose that it is an interpolation, after we know that it is taken word for word from Dan. vii. 21.

§ 3. *The Beast.*

In explaining the symbol of the great beast, we have to take into account not only this amalgamation of Daniel's symbol with contemporary history, but also the circumstance that the Apocalypse presents us with it twice (chap. xiii. and xvii.). This is hardly to be taken as a mere repetition, the conception thus being, in spite of divergences, wholly alike, and the two expositions of the subject capable of being used to supplement each other. On the contrary, the conjecture is *a priori* justified, that we have to do with two different editions of the same symbol; and we are therefore concerned with the preliminary question, which of these is the earlier. The symbol itself in that case is, like other visions, one that has been handed down to the author, being supplemented and adjusted by him to suit the circumstances of his own time.

In both visions the beast is no doubt the Roman world-power. It rises out of the sea (xiii. 1), *i.e.*, as is explained in xi. 7 and xvii. 8, out of the abyss, the haunt of the demons (ix. 1 f., 11, xx. 1, 3). It is the enemy of God's people, the antichristian power. In the version of the earlier vision of the woman and the dragon, *i.e.*, Satan, the latter is (xii. 3) absolutely represented under the symbol of the beast, the author thus signifying that the beast is none other than the Satanic power which opposes the kingdom of God. The symbol itself was not invented for the Roman power, but was borrowed from Dan. vii. 7 f., where it signified the Graeco-Syrian kingdom; that the Roman empire had, however, surpassed

the latter, and combined in itself every power hostile to God that had ever existed, is expressed by its uniting in itself the forms of the three preceding powers in Daniel (Dan. vii. 4-6; Rev. xiii. 2). The form of the fourth beast itself is only modified to make the signs at its appearance correspond to the Roman Empire.

We can first answer the question as to date for the two visions taken together. The number of the seven heads of the beast is important. Since this trait does not come from the model in Daniel, but is added to the symbol found there, it is at once evident that we are dealing with a matter which belongs to the present; and if we now note that the seven heads belong to the Roman empire, we can hardly doubt that by them we are to understand seven emperors. This is besides explicitly stated in xvii. 10. If this is admitted, then it is further certain that the origin of the symbol must still fall into the first century. For, though we are right in passing over Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, yet, counting from Augustus, Domitian is the eighth emperor. But the early limit can be determined with equal certainty. According to xiii. 3 (cf. ver. 18) Nero is slain, and his return expected; and this is taken up again in xvii. 11.

Now, if we compare within these limits the two expositions of the symbol in chap. xiii. and xvii., the latter alone gives us at first a definite clue for the more precise determination of the date. In xvii. 10 the sixth emperor, *i.e.*, Vespasian, is described as the then living sovereign. Nothing similar occurs in chap. xiii.; on the contrary it can be said that the description of conditions and events in xiii. 4 ff. is not connected at any point with the situation under Vespasian, and is much better explained from the time of Domitian. Yet the conclusion based on this, that chap. xiii. was the later in its origin, is not certain. For we have no right to assume that this prophetic symbol was derived from contemporary events. We must therefore look for other marks to determine the chronological relation of the two symbols. In that case there are two observations which speak for the sketch in chap. xiii. being the older: first, we have the com-

bination of the symbol of the beast with other forms, and, secondly, the relation to the model in Daniel.

In the vision of chap. xiii. the beast is accompanied by a second, which becomes its servant and associate; in chap. xvii. this is, however, not repeated, but the symbol of the beast is combined with that of a voluptuous woman representative of the city of Rome. The second beast in chap. xiii. is, as a symbol, only connected quite externally with Daniel, inasmuch as in Dan. viii. the symbol of the ram with two horns follows. Now the second beast in the Apocalypse has also two horns; what is meant by it is, however, expressed in xiii. 11 in the two features, its ascent out of the earth and its combining two contradictory resemblances, those to a lamb and to a dragon. From its origin it belongs therefore not to Satan but to the kingdom of God; from its nature it is the false prophet who deceives by means of his lamb-like form, and serves Satan. This he does by assisting the anti-christian power and seducing men to it. This at once implies that we have to do here, not with a historical figure, but with a creation of the imagination. A lying prophet of this kind could indeed be expected as an epitome of the false prophets and false Christs (cf. Matt., xxiv. 24; 1 John, ii. 18), but he never appeared in history. Just as little can we demonstrate in the case of one historical character the deeds, combined as they are, which are ascribed to this beast. We can, however, point to the sources which the author has laid under contribution in order to elaborate the symbol of the false prophet. He practises his deceit by imitating the miracle of the great prophet Elias (1 Kings, xviii. 38; 2 Kings, i. 10), and bringing down fire from heaven. He succeeds so far that, as in Dan. iii. 6, the worship of the image of the beast is commanded on pain of death. He seduces every one to devote himself to this cultus with such marks on his body as the law prescribed to bind the Jews to the service of God (Deut., vi. 8). We can still see in the case of Simon Magus in the Clementine Homilies (ii. 32) how such traits were combined to form the sketch of a false prophet. They were now naturally tricked out

with references to the present, or rather to the subject, namely, the cultus of the first, the great beast, accordingly to the worship of the Emperor, to the jugglery practised with speaking images of the gods, and to the effigy of the Emperor on the coins with which all trade was conducted. But these are all quite general features presented by the imperial period as a whole, and therefore not characteristic of any special time, locality, or person. In any case there did not exist any men who promoted the worship of the Emperor, and at the same time had the form of the Lamb, *i.e.*, deceived others with the name of the Lamb. The second beast does not, therefore, represent a historical person.

But the combination of the two beasts brings before us a development of the anticipations formed of Antichrist. Originally Antichrist was conceived not as a heathen world-power, but as a false Messiah. Now, the work of Satan was seen in that heathen world-power. Unwilling wholly to give up the idea of the false Messiah and his deceit, men imagined the false prophet, at least, accompanying heathenism as its servant and ally. Accordingly, the symbols, as we find them in this prophecy, represent a transition stage between the Jewish Antichrist and heathen antichristianity.

Now, the former has wholly disappeared in chap. xvii. Here Rome and the Roman Emperor, or, properly, the city of Rome by itself, are the only subjects. Even in the symbol which shows us the woman sitting on the beast, it is indicated that the former, accordingly the city, is the main subject. The symbol and the elucidations given of it only form an introduction to the solemn description, which assumes the character of a song, of the fall of the city. How far we are here from being concerned with an original prophecy as to the beast appears even from its introduction in xvii. 3, which does not delineate its symbol, but only briefly recalls it. The symbol is not brought forward, but elucidations are given of it. And a part at least of this exposition is designed to combine the two prophecies concerning the imperial power and the city, whose origin is distinct and independent, as is clearly

shown in the contradiction between xvii. 16 and xviii. 9. Thus, then, it results from the context of the prophecy of the beast in the two passages, that the one in chap. xvii. has been constructed on an earlier foundation.

But, further, the representation in chap. xiii. is decidedly more closely connected with the symbol in Daniel, from which the whole has been derived, and, consistently with this, is in itself much simpler. From Daniel has been taken the beast with the ten horns, which in that book signify ten successive kings. These ten horns are retained because they belong to the symbol itself. But their meaning could not be retained, because the Roman Empire had not yet had ten rulers. Therefore we have the addition of the feature, new and originally alien to the symbol, that, besides the ten horns, the beast had seven heads, with the same number of 'names of blasphemy,' *i.e.*, persons or rulers. It was then necessary that the ten horns should receive another meaning. They are provided with ten diadems, and thus represent a tenfold royal power; the author may have been thinking of the provinces of the vast empire, or he may merely have intended in the typical number to denote generally the greatness of the power of the Empire. Thus was the emblem of Daniel adapted to the author's time, and all that is added is merely that the whole anti-divine nature of this rule is to reach its maturity through the return of the emperor, who thus becomes the complete caricature of the risen Christ, and to whom the false prophet then adheres. This is the prophecy.

The exposition given in chap. xvii. is further removed in every respect from the original foundation: and the difference is at once shown by the fact that the seven heads are interpreted primarily to apply to the seven hills of Rome. This is quite certainly not the original form; by the beast is meant not the city of Rome at all, but the Empire and its rulers. This double interpretation is only introduced because the symbol of the woman has here become the main subject. The advance in the conception, or rather in the explanation of the symbol, finds expression, however, in two

additional features. In xiii. 3 f. the ruler who returns from the dead is the beast itself, because the heathen power represented by it obtains its whole influence through Satan. In xvii. 8 the original is abandoned; the beast, which is seen, was, and is not, and comes again out of the abyss; accordingly the beast is itself simply this one person. Thus the original symbol is divided (cf. ver. 9 and 11). The other advance is found in the interpretation of the ten horns. In the original application of Daniel's symbol they undoubtedly formed an alien and superfluous element. They are therefore now actually divorced from the beast, and made to represent a distinct and independent matter, namely, the future confederates of the returning emperor (ver. 12 ff.). All these interpretations are additions, and presuppose the simpler symbol. Besides, we have further to notice in xiii. 9 f. the exhortation to the saints not to take part in the fight against the Roman world-power (after Jer. xv. 2). This thought was natural, at any rate, as long as the recollection of the first Jewish war was still fresh. Such a state of matters did not afterwards recur. Even during the revolt led by Bar-Cochba, there was no possibility—the relations of Jews to Christians being at the time such as they are described by Justin Martyr—of the imputation of such a design occurring to any one.

These observations support the view that the representation given in chap. xiii. is the earlier. But, further, there is nothing contained in it which would compel us to date it at a late period within the general limits which have been fixed for its origin. Only Nero's death is presupposed, and thus we have at once the period of a subsequent ruler. The number seven applied to the heads undoubtedly takes us beyond Vespasian, but it does not preclude the composition of the section under that Emperor. That is, either the author believed that Nero's return would not occur so quickly, and accordingly that there was still room for a seventh before him, or he counted the returning monarch himself as the seventh. And the whole symbol of horror sketched by him needed no other foundation than the recollection of Nero.

The only real difficulty is due to the statement (xvii. 10) that the sixth Emperor, *i.e.* Vespasian, is the present one. But this statement is rendered doubtful from the very fact, that it is said of the seventh, that when he comes he can only stay a short time. Here we have to do not with a prophecy, but only with the form of a prophecy in which a fact already past has been clothed; and we are therefore brought beyond Titus. To this is to be added, however, that the returning Nero (xvii. 11) is described as the eighth, who passes into perdition, and to whom is ascribed without further explanation an alliance with his confederates for the destruction of Rome. The hatred inspired by the last years of the Emperor's reign, and the exasperation aroused by him, furnished ample cause for such fancies. It is not surprising, from the standpoint of the Christians, that the belief in a personal return of Nero was abandoned, and that in its place Domitian was explained to be Nero restored to life. We should in that case have here the first trace of the typical description so often repeated and become classical in Tertullian's phrase of the *portio Neronis de crudelitate.* But our author does not discuss his man more minutely; he confines himself to the strange issue which he anticipated, the destruction by each other of the powers opposed to God. For his silence he may have had good reason, and in that case it is also explained why he places the seventh and eighth Emperors in the future, and in the earlier vision wrought over by him adheres to the contemporaneousness of the sixth.

Connected with the remodelling of the vision are the obscuration of the conception of the beast as Antichrist, and the fact that the fight with the Lamb (xvii. 14) is only mentioned briefly, as if to introduce the judgment to be executed by the beast and its comrades upon the city of Rome. The displacement here is so clear, that this passage is by itself sufficient to show the revision of existing material. Again, the ten horns come into the foreground as ten mysterious kings who ally themselves with the beast, and thus help to execute the judgment. In view of the purely fanciful character of the vision it is lost labour to try to

interpret the ten kings historically, whether we make them denote the magistrates of the Roman provinces, or the princes of the kingdoms bordering on the empire. The author expressly calls them kings who have not yet succeeded to their thrones, and who will obtain power only in the future for one hour. He thus removes them from the sphere of history. They are unknown forms of the future which now enter, as it were, into the gap.

The cry of woe over the city of Rome, 'Babylon the Great,' contains no indications of a definite period. Only so much is certain, that this symbol is to be interpreted as applying to Rome and no other city, for she is designated as the great centre of all nations, of the whole world. She has committed the two sins, of godless wantonness and of shedding the blood of the saints. The description of the traffic peculiar to the great city looks as if it had been due to personal experience, and the section may quite well have been produced there; it can also be separated easily from its context in the book. In any case, the whole dislike to the empire of Rome has been transferred to the city itself. The destruction of Rome is at the same time the counterpart of that of Jerusalem.

The version given to the symbol of the great beast in chap. xvii., especially by the interpretation of the ten horns, throws a light upon the references of the book to the power that menaced Rome from the Euphrates, and is in turn confirmed by them. These allusions occur, as above discussed, in connection with the sixth trumpet (ix. 13 ff.) and the sixth vial (xvi. 12 ff.), accordingly in each case before the end of the relative section, at the point where the plagues reach their climax. Looked at by itself, this feature could have been borrowed as typical from ancient prophecy, as is afterwards the case with the nations of Gog and Magog. Yet it is always open to seek, in the case of these imitations, for a contemporary occasion for them. Now, this query is not barred by the fact that the great army which is described after the sixth trumpet is depicted as a host of fabulous monsters, and is led in the second instance by evil spirits. Under

these very symbols a hostile expedition is disguised. Now, while in the first instance the expedition from the Euphrates is only a terrible plague of the nations, which passes away without curing men of idolatry, the march of the kings from the same river, in the second, is combined with the affair of the beast (xvi. 12-14), a combination whose artificial character is for the rest easily observed. This march itself is, however, merely introduced without being carried out in detail. On the other hand, this opening is immediately followed by the seduction, instigated by and on behalf of the beast, of all the kings of the earth, to take part in the war on the great day of judgment. We cannot fail to recognise in this the recurrence of the thought expressed (in chap. xvii.) in the alliance of the ten kings with the beast. But the fact is, that the fundamental idea of an expected campaign of the Parthians has been thus transformed into an alliance of all the alien powers on the earth with that of Rome. Possibly this was suggested by the intervention of the Parthians on behalf of the pretended Nero. On the other hand, the generalising of the conception is directly connected with the fact that this expectation of Nero's return in chap. xvii. has been carried out beyond the limits of its first form. At any rate, the author's attention is still directed to the danger coming from the Euphrates, and this fixes the limit of time for him. The danger had come to an end under Trajan.

We can see in the Apocalyptic passage in 2 Thess. ii. 1-12 how current the Neronic prophecy had become among the Christians. Paul himself could not have yet known anything of the Roman Antichrist; in his view the great fight of Christ was waged against the supernatural powers of the world (1 Cor. xv. 24-28). In 2 Thessalonians, however, there is delivered under his name a prophecy of Antichrist who is to precede the appearance of the Lord, and the prophecy is only intelligible from the Apocalypse. The symbol of Antichrist is, indeed, sketched in an archaic form, and developed independently from the inexhaustible source in Daniel. But it is impossible that anything else can have been meant

than the Neronic Antichrist, who at present is delayed by the living Emperor, and who in his own time will be supported by the deceit of false prophecy (cf. Rev. xiii.).

Now, if the explanation of the symbol in chap. xvii.—the latest which points to a definite period—brings us to the last years of the first century, we find ourselves still in agreement with the total impression left by the historical presupposition of the whole book. The remaining features—namely, martyrdom and heresy—do not furnish any reason for going beyond the above period. As regards the former, it is not so much the mention of the martyr, Antipas, referred to in the epistle to Pergamum, that we have to consider. For that is only a single case. But the souls, under the fifth seal, slain on account of their testimony (vi. 9)—the multitude of Gentile Christians of all nations who owe their acceptance to their martyrdom (chap. vii.)—the θλίψεις (*e.g.* ii. 10, etc.), to which the cardinal Christian virtue of ὑπομονή corresponds—all point to the persecution having already attained considerable dimensions. And though the punishment with death of the refusal to worship the image, in the delineation of the second prophet, is adopted from the book of Daniel, yet when it is referred to the image of the Emperor (cf. xx. 4) the application was without doubt occasioned by experiences through which the Church had already passed. Thus Pliny, when governor of Bithynia, dealt with the Christians under Trajan. But, according to his own statement, trials were even then of common occurrence, and the Emperor's reply to him proves that he only did what was customary. This procedure had in any case developed under Domitian. As regards the heretics, however, who are designated in the epistles as Nicolaitans, or Balaamites, they cannot be referred to any of the later Gnostic sects. Thus the heresies do not, any more than the martyrdoms, lead us to another period.

§ 4. *The Aim.*

If John lived into the time of Domitian, the book was written soon after his death. Even if he had been banished from Ephesus,

no external difficulty stood in the way of the introduction of such a legacy from his latest days. It at any rate emanated from his school, and proves that he was regarded as a prophet. We must not look upon the dedication to the seven Churches of Asia as containing its real aim, the significance of the book thus consisting merely in its being an Apostolic circular letter written for them. The concluding section (chap. xxii) has not retained this characteristic. In that passage it is unmistakable that the book was destined for all Christendom. If, therefore, the references of the letters are taken from life, the epistolary form belongs in the first place to the introduction of the book as a testimony by John. It depicts for the benefit of the saints in general what he had been in the sphere of his immediate labours. The object of the whole is to be found, however, not in the special exhortations, but in the whole contents. It consists, in accordance with the letters, and especially with the concluding exhortation, in the confirmation of the expectation of the Lord's coming, and in the assertion of its proximity. After the departure of this primitive Apostle, whose life had been so prolonged, the assurance seemed doubly necessary. But under the name of his master the author brought before the Church the treasured collection of the most valuable prophecies produced by the last decades, great visions which held their ground, an imperishable trophy of the sternest conflicts. He has edited the whole in such a way that we have, in the constant quotations from the ancient prophets, a comprehensive verification of Christian prophecy from the ancient Scriptures. It is possible to read in this the history of the new prophecy, and, at the same time, the most comprehensive Messianic proof to be found within its range. The author has, not without difficulty, set the most important symbols in a frame which in his arrangement has again adopted the earliest form of the prophecy of the future. In doing so he has pursued an aim in two respects peculiar to himself. In the first place, his thoughts centre in that which was of supreme importance in the immediate past and in the present, viz., the hostile power of Rome. Ideas regarding it have already passed

through various phases. For the writer it is now not only certain that even the Roman power would succumb in the last fight with Christ Himself; it would be shattered in wars with the forces of this world. And not merely do the changing forms of the Emperors and the imperial power pass away: Rome itself, the seemingly indestructible seat of godlessness, is brought face to face with its sudden doom. In the second place, the writer goes even further, and returning to the starting-point of all Christian prophecy, the Lord's judgment upon the whole world, he passes from the particular to the universal, from this temporal power to the last hostile powers. First, we have the triumph of the Lord, who establishes in place of the mighty empire an earthly kingdom of His own, to last for a thousand years. But then the fight begins once more; the nations with the obscure names borrowed from ancient prophecy, Gog and Magog, rise, the last conflict begins, and the conquest introduces for the first time the real consummation, the new heavens and the new earth, and the new Jerusalem. Thus the whole prophecy of the Apostolic age is epitomised and brought to its grand conclusion. Here we are met once more by the expectation of the coming of the Lord and His kingdom in all its power to sustain the faith of the primitive Church.

With the prophetic aim of the book coincides the communication of the highest teaching regarding Christ Himself. The book presupposes in its changing symbols all forms of the Christian idea of the Messiah, a fact only surprising to him who seeks in this imaginative faith for a strict system of doctrine. Jesus is the Lamb who is slain (v. 6, 12, vii. 17, xxii. 1, 3), but He is also Conqueror and Judge (vi. 16, xiv. 1, xix. 7, xxi, 22). He is the Lion of Judah (v. 5, xxii. 16), the Son of Man and Judge of the world (i. 7, 13, 16, ii. 12, 16, xix. 11 ff.). He is the Beginning of creation, the First and the Last (iii. 14, i. 8, 17, ii. 8). But there is, above all, still another word which gives the supreme key to His nature. As yet it is a secret which will be fully disclosed only in the future. This revelation is now however announced; the true name of the Christ whom His own know as the Lamb

that was sacrificed is given: He is the Logos of God. What this involves is only announced as a presentiment, a mystery. It is the truth which is now to be spread abroad. It is proclaimed in the name of John.

Wholly distinctive is all that applies to the question of Jew and Gentile. The basis of the conception is Jewish Christian. Of secondary importance is the symbol (xiv. 1 ff.) in which the Lamb stands with His elect on Mount Zion; for that is only to be understood ideally. This is also true of the vision of the kingdom of God in its perfection, the new Jerusalem from which the temple is excluded. Even the mention of the city in xiv. 20 is hardly more than an ancient formula. It seems more significant that the kingdom for a thousand years has its capital in the beloved city (xx. 9); yet by this is not to be understood the continuation of the old. Noteworthy is the adoption of the symbols in chapters vii. and xii., although they were not created but only appropriated by the author. The 144,000 in chap. vii. from the twelve tribes undoubtedly convey to us that the kernel of the Church consists of the remnant of the actual nation, an interpretation which is not refuted by the elect rather being in another vision (xiv. 1 ff.) the saints who have preserved their chastity. When, however, an innumerable multitude of believers of all nations are set side by side with this kernel of Jewish Christians (vii. 9 ff.), we have a recognition of Gentile Christianity, in so far as these confessors from among the Gentiles have obtained through their great afflictions an interest in the martyrdom of the Lamb. But the recognition only resulted from the actual fact. This feature is also left unaltered by the editor of the older prophecy. The universalism of this symbol of the nations runs, however, through the whole book, and in the hymn of praise (v. 9) is placed in the forefront of the revelations. Like the symbol in chap. vii., that in chap. xii., of the woman with the seven stars, starts from the identity of the old and new Israel. The community which flees into the desert is still exclusively the Jewish Christian Church. But this symbol has received an addition which gives it a new aspect, and

thereby illustrates the attitude of the editor to his model. He adheres to the woman's flight into the desert. When, however, he develops the conception that Judaism, shaken and persecuted, is temporarily rescued and concealed until its time, the fulfilment of its destiny, is come, the writer is no longer merely thinking of the community of the primitive Church; he comprehends with that his hope of the restoration of the nation of God in its whole extent. Therefore, the present persecution of the Christians can also immediately follow the oppression of the Jews.

If we look at the internal aspect of the subject we find a corresponding relationship. The creed of the book can be called Jewish Christian. In proof of this, we need only compare the expectation of the future in it with that of the Apostle Paul in 1 Cor. xv. But while this is true we have to think neither of the Jewish Christianity of the primitive Church nor of its later Ebionitism. It is distinguished from the former by the more liberal recognition of Gentile Christianity, as well as by the developed doctrine of the atoning death of Jesus, and its acceptance in all its significance for salvation. It is still further, much further, removed from the later legal and exclusive Judaism. The demand for circumcision is throughout unknown to the book and incompatible with its spirit. Of Pauline ideas there is undoubtedly no trace. The Lord demands works from His people, and by their works He recognises them (ii. 5, 19, 23, 26, iii. 8, xiv. 13, xx. 12 f., xxii. 11 f.). This Judaism has become universalist and free from the law, not by the path traced by Paul, but by one of its own. The deeds of the saints, their triumphant confession (ii. 26, xii. 11), their steadfastness in affliction, their works in love, faith, and patience (ii. 19), their upright dealings, *δικαιώματα*, their freedom from stain (iii. 4, xiv. 3 ff.), are their credentials, the ground of their acceptance, their righteousness. But these works are the works of Jesus (ii. 26). Another obligation there is not (ii. 24). Not even the *ἐντολαὶ τοῦ θεοῦ*, whose observance is identical with keeping the words of Jesus (xii. 17, xiv. 12), are in any respect different (iii. 8). In this sense the song in xv. 3 is at once the

song of Moses and of the Lamb; and similarly the whole spirit of prophecy is contained in the testimony of Jesus (xix. 10; cf. xxii. 6). In other words, the author recognises the authority of law and prophecy only in so far as they agree with the teaching of Jesus. That is for him the standard and starting-point for the contents of Holy Scripture and its obligations. And the test of saintship is simply the appropriation of the sacrifice of Christ. They are cleansed by the blood of the Lamb (vii. 14, xii. 11, xxii. 14), by keeping His testimony (xii. 17).

With this is connected the attitude to actual Judaism. The Jews are twice mentioned in the letters, in those to Smyrna (ii. 9) and Philadelphia (iii. 9). In both passages it is said that they wrongfully assume the name, since in reality they are a synagogue of Satan. They are the slanderers of the Christian Church. It is impossible to understand by these Pauline Christians, for the stress is laid on their pride in the name of Jew and in their synagogue. There is no trace of any offence being given by them through an attitude of freedom in relation to the law. They have nothing in common with the party that allowed the eating of that which had been offered to idols, a party which was itself, indeed, as far from being composed of followers of Paul. Their falsehood consisted in their claiming to be Jews while they refused to recognise Christ. Their conversion was to consist in their being brought to Him, and in their being led to see that He loved those who believed (iii. 9). In the prophecy concerning Jerusalem (xi. 8), that city is described as being called in the higher sense, πνευματικῶς, Sodom or Egypt, where Christ was crucified. This Judaism is as far removed from the true, as are the city of destruction and the land of bondage. This attack on Judaism, however, only shows once more that the author knew no people of God but the Christians, and no Judaism but that of the Gospel.

While accordingly we must recognise that the fundamental attitude of the book is Jewish Christian, yet its Jewish Christianity has nothing at all to do with the older forms of that movement, and, on the contrary, follows in comparison with it a new and

distinctive course. Historically we can only see in this a development of the faith of the primitive Church. This development is found, on the one hand, in the recognition of the Gentile Christian Church, and, on the other, in the deepening of the faith in the Person of Christ, in which the reverence for law and Scripture was, as it were, absorbed. His doctrine is no longer measured by the law, but conversely the whole commandments of God by His word. In spite of all this, the book indisputably contains a fragment of primitive Christianity, as certainly as the Church in which this faith lived must have been predominantly Jewish. But we may go further. In spite of the fact that the faith implies the existence and influence of Gentile Christianity, it is not the work of a second generation. The most natural explanation of its origin is, that it owed its connection with the primitive Apostolic belief to a historical link; in other words, that it came from a primitive Apostle who had lived into another period.

§ 5. *Conditions.*

Now, what can be gathered from the Apocalypse as to the history of the Church of Asia? Here the seven epistles have first of all to be considered. In spite of their essentially paraenetic character, they were not written merely for and under the influence of the moment. They rather contain a retrospect of the history, and we cannot fail to recognise in the sharp outlines of the details, and the strongly-marked difference between the Churches, a genuine picture in the strict sense of the term. This historical sketch also embraces an extensive period; part of it is taken up with considerable changes that have occurred in the internal conditions. The seven communities do not necessarily embrace the whole of the Church of Asia Minor. The author of the Apocalypse shows throughout a partiality for the number seven. The seven angels are connected also with the seven spirits of God (i. 4, iii. 1, iv. 5, v. 6). Again, it is to be observed that seven promises are severally allotted to the seven Churches: the tree of life, the crown of life, the manna

and the tablet with the new name, power over the Gentiles and the morning star, the book of life, the pillars in the temple and three sacred names, the supper with Christ and the seat upon His throne. But if the seven Churches form only a part, those chosen were certainly the most important at the time. The omission of Hierapolis was probably due to another reason; as the seat of Philip it did not belong to John's sphere. Of the seven, we meet with three—Ephesus, Smyrna, and Philadelphia—about a generation later in the Ignatian letters. Pergamum, Sardis, and Laodicea were important Churches in the second century. That of Thyatira seems, according to Montanist testimony, to have perished.

In their outward circumstances Smyrna is described for us as a poor, Philadelphia as a small Church. All suffered from oppression, and the confession of their faith demanded patience and courage. In the case of Smyrna a persecution is expressly recorded, which, however, lasted only a short time—in prophetic language 'ten days'—and merely resulted in the imprisonment of a few of the members. In Pergamum the great heathen cultus, of which the town was a stronghold, and the fanaticism that attended it proved a constant danger. We to-day know what the author meant when he spoke of the throne of Satan there. Still it seems as yet only once to have come to the worst; the book can tell us merely of one martyr, Antipas. But the Church had at two places to endure hostility from another quarter. The Jews took up such an attitude against them in Smyrna and Philadelphia that the author calls them a synagogue of Satan. There is nothing to show that this was associated with internal troubles, that Jewish teaching had made its way into the Church.

On the other hand internal troubles had arisen from another source. The Nicolaitans above mentioned had appeared in three Churches, those of Ephesus, Pergamum, and Thyatira. In Ephesus their Apostles were repulsed as deceivers, the Church turned from them with repugnance. It was different in the two other places. In Pergamum the teaching was accepted by members of the Church,

and the others did not succeed either in reconverting or ejecting them. In Thyatira the invasion was still bolder, the weakness still greater. In this town a prophetess wrought in support of the heresy. We are not told who she was; she is only called by the symbolical name of Jezebel, and her followers are also designated figuratively, partly as those who commit adultery with her, partly as children, *i.e.*, seducers and seduced. The Church leaves them alone, it does not exert its authority over them; the party must accordingly have been of considerable influence. The name given to it is doubtless of the same character as that of Jezebel. The name of Nicolaitans was fastened on them because they were found to teach the same heresy as the prophet Balaam. On this point we have an explicit statement in ii. 14, 15. We are here told: in Pergamum there are some who hold the teaching of Balaam; these Nicolaitans have taught exactly the same doctrine, *i.e.*, they are called Nicolaitans after Balaam. Then in Thyatira teaching identical with that of Jezebel made its appearance. In any case, therefore, they did not give themselves this name, and there is nothing in it to limit us in our attempt to trace and discover the party. Now it must not be overlooked that Irenaeus (*Haer.* iii. 11, 1), our oldest and best authority on the point, observes in reference to the doctrine of Cerinthus, that even before him the Nicolaitans had taught the same tenets. Here we reach historical ground. For Cerinthus appeared in Ephesus, and that in the time of John. If then it is admitted that the name of the Nicolaitans is not historical, it is at once suggested that they may not have anticipated his teaching, but may have emanated from his school. Now our most trustworthy information regarding the teaching of Cerinthus contains, according to our older authorities, the doctrine that the world and even the law were not created by God, but by a power very far removed from Him. We do not know that he deduced from this the practical inference of antinomianism. On the contrary, later writers have ascribed to him a half-Judaising doctrine, though this has probably been due merely to perplexity. It is all the more

significant that he is designated in a good authority as approximating closely to Carpocrates, who did hold the logical development of the doctrine, viz., that everything was permitted, nay, that participation in everything was necessary for the emancipation of the soul. It is impossible to arrive at any greater certainty on the subject.

Apart from the rise of this party in the locality the internal conditions prevailing in the Churches were very unlike. Decided approval is given only to the poor Church of Smyrna and the small one of Philadelphia. In the case of Pergamum and Thyatira the speaker discriminates; they are censured for not having put down the heresy; those who have held aloof from it have stood the test all the more firmly, especially in Thyatira, where express recognition is made of progress in the Church. In Ephesus the opposite is the case. Here the false Apostles had been repulsed, the heresy rejected, and the confession firmly adhered to. Yet the state of the Church was not good. The members had gone back in their spiritual life, and their critic expresses his deep anxiety. They had begun well, but now the external tradition was alone in due order. The judgment upon Sardis is still sterner. The attestation of their faith is in no respect complete, the Church is in the main dead. Yet it contains members who have come forth victorious. The address to Laodicea is out and out condemnatory. Thorough lukewarmness threatened here to let everything go to ruin.

In the Apocalypse we twice come to a point at which the spectator and historian, overcome by what he has just learned, falls at the feet of the angel through whom he has received the revelation, and seeks to worship him. On both occasions the angel reproves him because he is only his fellow-servant, and commands him to worship God (xix. 10, xxii. 9). The repetition of the scene is enough to show that it does not represent a natural ebullition of feeling and its correction, but that the narrative has a purpose; and this purpose can only be found in the intention to prohibit the worship of angels. From this it is further to be

inferred that this worship was practised, or that at least there existed a tendency to it. Now where are we to look for this motive? There is nothing to indicate that it was a feature of the Nicolaitan heresy, or of the cultus of the Jews by whom the Church was confronted. The letters to the Churches point to no connection of any kind. And yet these exhortations belong, not to a passage inserted in the book from some other source, but to the author himself. The subject in any case therefore affected not an outside party, but the Church itself. This veneration was not a heresy but an error within the Church. It is not to be overlooked, however, in estimating the fact, that the correction is addressed not to the Church but to the prophet himself. This can only mean that those who observed the practice made use of the Apostle's name, or that the opinion was prevalent that he had himself adopted it, that therefore the worshippers believed they could appeal to him. This furnishes us with another feature for our estimate of the Church which the author had in view. It at any rate confirms the conclusion that, whatever its present composition may have been, it was of Jewish descent, and that the influence of that descent was predominant. But this Jewish Christianity had been possessed by the new revelation, and by the creative spiritual life inherent in it. In this sense it occupied itself with intermediary spirits.

With this we obtain, however, another point of view from which to elucidate the revelation of the new name of Christ, a revelation brought forward with such emphasis by the author. Christ is undoubtedly placed by him above the angels. Yet no worship is dedicated to Him. In the two cases instanced the prophet is directed to worship God alone. Now in the course of the book scenes repeatedly occur in which the Lamb receives the highest adoration in prostration and praise, rendered to Him separately or in conjunction with God (v. 8, 13, vii. 10, xiv, 4, xv. 3 (xxi. 22, xxii. 1)). Accordingly the command in the above passages to worship God alone cannot be inconsistent with this. The reconciliation of the two facts is only possible if the adoration

of the Lamb was not something different from, but capable of being comprehended in, the worship of God. The key to the solution is without doubt the new name, the notion of the Divine Logos. If Christ was in his ultimate nature no other than the Word of God Himself, He was not a creature. The prohibition of the worship of a creature did not extend to Him. In the worship of God that of His Logos was implied. But this explains still another difficulty. Christ is introduced in i. 13 as being, after the type in Daniel, 'He who is like a Son of Man.' With exactly the same words an angel is presented in xiv. 14. Possibly the phrase was borrowed from a source in which the Messiah was Himself described, the words being only applied in our passage to the mission of an angel. But that this was possible, proves that while the author used the symbol in Daniel as a symbol of the Messiah, the Son of Man was no longer the highest and complete expression for Christ; He was something more exalted. This makes the fact all the more important that the doctrine of the Logos was ascribed to John. That doctrine, from all that has preceded, emanated from a circle in which there was at work an active inquiry into the mediation, the agents, of the Divine revelation. The book seeks to discourage the assumption of a plurality of agents, pointing to the sole and perfect mediator. And it appeals to the authority of the Apostle whose teaching had corrected all these ideas.

CHAPTER VII

EPHESUS—JOHN'S GOSPEL

§ 1. *The Author.*

The Fourth Gospel counts among the memorials of the first rank belonging to the Apostolic or post-Apostolic Church. This position it holds not only from its spirit, but from the influence it has exercised. Its origin furnishes the critic with a problem not less important than that set him by the Apocalypse; the attempt to solve it can lay as little claim to absolute certainty, at least as regards the outward circumstances. But everything that can contribute to the decision of the question must be honestly weighed and brought to bear upon it; and thus we may at least come to understand the inner motives, the sway of thought in the history.

Its own words, in any case, connect the Gospel with a particular Apostle. Besides its philosophical spirit, this personal character is its most prominent peculiarity, a feature by which it is distinguished from the others. It cannot be said that this was only to be expected in the case of a Gospel bearing the name of a primitive Apostle; Matthew's Gospel was also attributed to a primitive Apostle, and yet it is wholly without that feature. Besides, in the case of the Fourth Gospel it is by no means merely a question of the natural consequence of the author's having been an eye-witness, a consequence shown, say, in striking distinctness, preservation of individual traits, vivid recollection of circumstantial and spiritual facts, and even participation in certain events. The

special relation which here comes into play is of a different kind. It consists in the fact that this Gospel makes the introduction of an Apostolic personage a direct object in its composition. It is true that the author nowhere gives his name, but rather designates himself merely in mysterious hints. But it is quite wrong to look on this as the expression of a self-forgetful devotion to the Master and His cause. The description of the Apostle as the disciple whom Jesus loved (xiii. 23, xix. 26, xxi. 7, 20) is by itself sufficient to prove the opposite. That certainly does not express the devotion of the disciple, but a preference by which the Master distinguished him. Nothing of the sort is said personally of any of the others. The Gospel which records the powers conferred by Jesus upon Peter (Matt. xvi. 18 f.) relates besides his deep humiliation (xxvi. 75). But the disciple whom Jesus loved is in the Fourth Gospel only seen in the untroubled light of that love which so highly distinguished him. And it is especially in comparison with Peter that his position of pre-eminence over all others is proved. It is only through the intervention of the beloved disciple that at the Last Supper Peter is able to get his question put to the Master, whom He meant by the one who should betray Him (xiii. 23 ff.). Again, after the apprehension of Jesus, it is this other disciple alone by whose mediation Peter can obtain admission into the house of the High Priest (xviii. 16). And, most important of all, Peter, who as we know from 1 Cor. xv. 5 was held to be the first to whom the resurrection of Jesus was made known, has to share this distinction with that disciple, nay, he has really to yield the palm to him. For, while Peter indeed was the first to enter and see what was in the grave, the other disciple, though he entered after him, arrived first at the place, and, what is the decisive point, first looked into the grave (John, xx. 2-8). The closing narrative in the Gospel of the manifestation of the Risen One at the Sea of Galilee contains a partial reconciliation of this rivalry. For there the two Apostles are distinguished above all the rest by special commissions and prophecies given them by Jesus. Peter obtains

both the charge to feed not only the lambs but also the 'little sheep' of Jesus, and the prophecy concerning the close of his long life (xxi. 15-19). The other will, however, live even longer than Peter; not that he was to witness the return of the Lord, but that the latter reserved some wholly special destiny for him (xxi. 20-23). Thus the lofty authority, the dignity and position of the Apostle Peter are throughout assumed; but the object of the book is to make good, in addition to that authority which it cannot but recognise, the distinction, not inferior to Peter's, of the other disciple. Even during the life of Jesus he had enjoyed a special privilege; he had been on the closest personal terms with the Master; and Jesus had Himself said that after His own death the disciple would be reserved for extraordinary experiences, and he accordingly even then was not Peter's inferior. The intentional prominence given to these facts sets us in the Apostolic Age, and in a period when Jesus' death already belonged to the remote past. The reference in the miraculous draught of fishes, and in the words addressed to Peter by Jesus, to an unexpected mission of the Apostle, one extending into the Gentile world, as well as the indication of his martyrdom, bring us to a point of time when that death was long past, and the last experiences of Peter had already begun to pass into legend. In any case he who wrote these lines had readers in view among whom Peter's lofty position, his Apostleship, and his martyrdom were fully recognised. He himself had to admit them, nay he confirmed them by his narrative. And yet he responds: it would be an error to regard Peter as alone possessing this distinction, and to let all the other Apostles be eclipsed by him. There was at least one who was not his inferior, the other disciple to whom Jesus had allotted a no less extraordinary destiny. It is manifest that he was not so generally known, that he was not recognised in such wide circles as Peter. But his disciples knew and dared assert his position.

That such a vindication could only emanate from his disciples, and not from himself, is self-evident and should need no proof.

But what we are told of Jesus' prophecy regarding the other disciple abundantly proves that the latter was dead when the words were written (xxi. 20-23). He had lived long, so long that the opinion had arisen among the brethren that he would not die, but would witness the return of Jesus, so long that this was traced back to a prediction of Jesus. However, none such existed, nothing but a saying which, if misunderstood, was capable of such an interpretation. Jesus had undoubtedly made some prediction as to his prolonged life, he had given it in His answer to Peter's question. But the answer was merely: 'If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?' That was the misunderstood saying. This rumour it was necessary to correct, now that John had died; Jesus could not have prophesied falsely, the disciple could not have spoken of himself falsely. The correction was his defence against any such imputation, against the undermining of his authority. This alone explains the present narrative, but it also enables us to understand those earlier narratives which at the most important crises put the other disciple on a level with, or in a higher position than, Peter in their relations to Jesus. On the lips of the man concerned, these would be more than strange. As coming from a follower who survived him, who desired to tell the world what the Apostle was, who was engaged in issuing the true Gospel under the shield of his authority, they are intelligible. And only a follower could with propriety distinguish his teacher as the man whom above all others Jesus loved.

Our conclusion from this that the Apostle did not himself write the Gospel is not contradicted by the note of direct evidence in xix. 35: 'And he that has seen (the thrust of the spear and its consequences) has borne witness, and his witness is true, and he knows that he is telling the truth that ye also may believe.' The words—ὁ ἑωρακὼς μεμαρτύρηκεν—can only be understood as conveying that we have here an account of this testimony. Only a third party could speak thus. And it is also a third party who says of the witness: κἀκεῖνος οἶδεν ὅτι ἀληθῆ

λέγει. That is spoken in the present; it expresses the conviction of the witness, but it is the appeal of a third party to that conviction. Even if this had not been recognisable from the form of the statement, we should be entitled to infer it from the striking fact of the asseveration, which is only given at this one passage, though the whole narrative from beginning to end would necessarily depend on the same testimony. The first conclusion of the Gospel (xx. 30 f.) says nothing of the eye-witness; but only that it was all written to awaken faith in Jesus as the Christ, the Son of God, and to secure to believers life through His name. The second conclusion, or the conclusion of the appendix (xxi. 24), undoubtedly goes further: 'This is the disciple who bears witness of these things, and wrote these things, and we know that his witness is true.' The writer speaking in name of a number plainly offers this assurance not in support of his appendix, but of the preceding Gospel, to which his attitude is that of a critical successor, as he clearly shows in xxi. 25: 'And there are also many other things which Jesus did, which, if they were all described, I suppose that the world itself would not contain the books that should be written.' The similarly phrased note (xix. 35) is probably also due to him. The statement (xxi. 24) as to the author of the Gospel is accordingly not supplementary to the language used in xx. 30 f. It rather presents us with the new conception of a later writer. In xx. 30 f. the Gospel is merely defined as a product of the Apostolic vocation; in xxi. 24, it is already ascribed to the 'disciple' himself. It is certainly noteworthy that we have here before us a phenomenon similar to that in the concluding section of the Apocalypse. There John is also introduced as author of the book, and as speaking of himself by name. And once more this is neutralised by the fact that not John but Jesus Himself gives the final exhortations, and concludes the book.

But looking at the matter from another point of view, the Fourth Gospel adopts an attitude like that of the Apocalypse in reference to John's relation to Jesus. The Apocalypse shows

us, and not in a solitary trait, that as often as the seer beholds Jesus Himself, he recognises Him as the Master whom he had followed when His disciple. The Gospel of course tells of his intercourse with Jesus. But the interval between the present conception of the author and the actual intercourse with Jesus of Nazareth is not less than that between the seer and the Lamb, or the dread figure of the Judge in heaven. It is even a greater puzzle that the Apostle, the beloved disciple of the Gospel, he who reclined at table next Jesus, should have come to regard and represent his whole former experience as a life with the incarnate Logos of God. It is impossible to imagine any power of faith and philosophy so great as thus to obliterate the recollection of the real life, and to substitute for it this marvellous picture of a Divine Being. We can understand that Paul who had not known Jesus, who had not come in contact with the *man*, should have opposed to the tradition of the eye-witnesses the idea of the heavenly man, and that he should have substituted the Christ who was Spirit for His earthly manifestation, pronouncing the latter to be positively a stage above which faith must rise. For a primitive Apostle it is inconceivable. The question is decided here, and finally here. Everything else adduced from the contents of the Gospel—the curious style of address, the transparent allegory in the histories, the studied relationship to the Synoptic account—is subordinate, though convincing enough. But what cannot have been done by John might be done by a disciple, a man of the Church that esteemed him so highly, that ranked him with Peter. By one writing at second-hand the communications of an Apostle could be related to a theology which justified and explained faith in Christ as faith in the Logos of God; by such a writer the whole life, the whole aspect of it, could be transformed into a great haggadic didactic work.

This association would not have been inevitable, the Gospel might have been explicable without the assumption of an Apostolic school, had it not been for the unmistakable intention to assert the name of the Apostle as that of Jesus' most trusted disciple,

and to cover the teaching of the work itself with the authority of that name. From this it cannot be inferred with certainty, whether and how far the Apostle shared in that teaching; it at least does not enable us to decide whether there was any warrant for regarding him as the creator and chief representative of the Logos doctrine. On the other hand, the conclusion is without doubt warranted that the author of the book and the school of which he was a member were able to lay claim to the name of the Apostle, because he had belonged to, and been the head of, their Church. In that case it is, at all events, natural to suppose that the doctrine had sprung up under his eyes, and that it had been approved, or at least not been discountenanced by him. To this view we are also led by the fact that, while he was dead, he cannot have been long dead at the date of the composition and publication of the Gospel. The proof of this is contained once more in the concluding narrative of the Gospel, and the explanation of Jesus' words concerning John. It is clear that the author sought by this assertion of the real fact, and by the rejection of the legendary misinterpretation, to remove a stumbling-block, one which could not but be in the highest degree prejudicial to his purpose. So long as John lived, his venerable age and Apostolic authority could only have their significance increased by the spread of the belief that he was destined still to live and govern the Church until he should greet the return of the Lord. All the ruder the shock to which faith in his name was exposed now that death had overtaken him. But it is obvious that the danger existed shortly after the death. The first years past, and the matter would soon have been forgotten.

In view of both questions, that of the authorship and that of the date of origin, the observation is especially worthy of attention, that not only does the Gospel indicate its rise in a second generation, but also positively and intentionally purports to extend beyond the Apostolic age. We are brought face to face with the advanced date, the new generation, in the application of the proverb, 'one sows, another reaps,' in iv. 38: 'I sent you

to reap that whereon you have not laboured; others have laboured, and you have entered into their labours.' We can also see that this outlived generation is implied in xvii. 20: 'But I do not pray for these alone, but also for those who believe on Me through their word.' Similarly we have had in x. 16: 'I have other sheep who are not of this fold, and I must also lead them.' Experiences of defection and unfaithful leadership already belong to the past history of the Church (xv. 4, 6, x. 12). The embassy of the Apostles has assumed the form of a universal mission (xvii. 18). The promise of the Spirit of God has confessedly a different aspect in the Fourth Gospel from that presented in the first three. In the latter it is given in all its original simplicity. It requires no further explanation or justification that God should come to the aid of Jesus' disciples and grant them His Spirit in the critical hour (Matt. x. 20). It is otherwise in the Fourth. For the πνεῦμα or παράκλητος is not merely their aid in weakness or in need, but the source of new revelations (xiv. 16 f., 26, xv. 26, xvi. 7, 13). Therefore now the repeated assurance, that it is granted by God on the intercession of Jesus, that it is sent by Himself, that it only explains the teaching of Jesus, and all it reveals is to be referred to Jesus, and is derived from His stores. Therefore, on the other hand, the assurance that the testimony of the Apostles shall not be superseded by this revelation of the Spirit, but shall endure and retain its value side by side with it as a voice from their relation to, their intercourse with, Jesus (xv. 27).

We can observe in all this the double motive: the new knowledge which has outgrown primitive Christianity and the primitive Apostolic tradition are confirmed and attested from the lips of Jesus; the connection is, however, to be maintained, the authority of the original Apostles to be preserved. The relation of the earlier to the later knowledge is like that of the veiled symbol to plain speech (xvi. 25). Yet the symbol contained the truth. Therefore the present, the new Gospel, only gave the key to the right understanding of the older tradition. Where that key is

in the main to be found, we are at once shown in the Gospel (xvi. 26, (24), xiv. 13 f.). They can now call upon Jesus Himself in prayer. This is something new. Jesus will grant what is asked of Him. And if the Father be invoked, He will grant it, but in the name of Jesus. The latter is thus not so much advocate and mediator; the fulfilment follows of itself from the unity of the Father and the Son, and from the relation of Christians to both being identical. We cannot fail to see that prayer to Jesus is here presented as a new rite of the new age; but further, the reason is transparent enough. This form of prayer was only rendered possible by the novel perception of the essential Divinity of the Son, by the doctrine of the Logos. The same distinction in periods and grades is involved in the idea that the Christians had been raised from the servile state of implicit obedience to the rank of friends who had attained full knowledge, and therefore the freedom of followers xv. 15. And with this the triple conviction of the world is connected xvi. 8-11, *i.e.*, the true knowledge of the world granted to the disciples, and only possible through the perfect knowledge of Jesus Himself. This knowledge had also its all-important result in the life of the Church, in the power to forgive and retain sin xx. 23. And all this illustrates, not merely the march of time, but also the relation of contemporary belief to the authority of the primitive Apostles. The reconciliation could only be found in John himself. In fact, the characteristic feature of the book is, that there is no substitution of newly won truths for the older tradition, but a confident assertion of their unity.

§ 2. *Relation to Judaism.*

All these indications that the Gospel was composed at a late date, under influences remote from primitive Apostolic Christianity and in a period which had outgrown the latter, we may epitomise as features related to the inner development of the Church itself. Others fall to be added, however, which embrace its external

relations, and above all that to Jews and Judaism. The historical contents of the Gospel show us perfectly that in this respect also it no longer bears the impress of the Apostolic age, and that not even its root is to be found in that period. Our Synoptic Gospels permit of our seeing two strata in their material. On the one hand, they photograph for us the narrower Jewish mission of Jesus Himself, and with it the situation of the earliest community within the pale of Judaism. But on the other hand, they are all written in a spirit of universalism, and both in sayings and incidents combine the whole of those features by which the emancipation from the limits of Judaism, the extension of aim, proved itself to have been justified and necessary. These two strata do not thus appear in the Fourth Gospel, because, since in it Jesus as the Logos of God and the agent in all creation has everywhere His proprietary rights in the universe, His mission is from the first equally wide and great, and extends to the whole world (i. 10, 11). On the other hand, the conception of the Gospel no longer admits of the question as to the future of Judaism and its cultus. The remarkable section in Jesus' conversation with the Samaritan woman (iv. 20-24) undoubtedly still reveals traces of his historical attitude, but these are unmistakably mingled with the ripe results of the writer's period. At the same time, Jesus' own attitude is no longer expressed directly in the language of conviction, but in the form of a historical reflection: 'You worship you know not what; we know what we worship, because salvation is of the Jews.' But, besides this, the book does not, *e.g.*, simply look forward to the destruction of the temple: the whole thought embodied in its cultus has been transcended—the time has come when the worship of God in Spirit and in truth is alone accepted, because God is Himself Spirit.

Perhaps the manner in which in this Gospel the historical mission of Jesus resolved itself into the universal is shown most clearly in the section in which the history of Jesus' labours closes (xii. 37-50). Here the unbelief of the Jews in spite of all the

signs performed by Jesus is substantiated, and, after the pattern of the other Gospels, is traced back to the prophecy of the blinding of the people. This is at once followed, however, by the loftier reflection placed in the lips of Jesus Himself (ver. 44-50), in which it is no longer the people that are discussed, but His universal mission which is everywhere the same, for He is the light come into the world to dispel the darkness, and to lead to eternal life (cf. i. 5, 10). This world-redeeming mission of God is quite universal, and involves judgment for unbelievers as well as deliverance for believers. And thus it is also in harmony with this universal and absolute destination of His Gospel, that the question of its relation to the law never occurs either to Jesus or His followers. It is no longer necessary to discuss terms with the obligatoriness of the law. When the Jews set up their law against the actions of Jesus, who in their opinion transgresses it, they are dismissed with the declaration that He possesses a wholly different rule of conduct; or they are confuted by the assertion of their own inconsistency. In any case their vindication of the law only establishes ideas and demands which concern themselves but do not apply to Jesus. This whole question is disposed of by the single instance of a cure on the Sabbath (v. 1 ff.). Jesus meets the charge that He has broken the Sabbath with the answer, that He acts throughout like His Father (v. 19 ff.). And on returning once more to the subject He rebukes them by recalling their own inconsistency in not scrupling to circumcise on the Sabbath (vii. 23). That, however, is all that in any degree recalls those controversies. And not only have these receded into the background, but—and this is the main point—Jesus assumes no attitude at all with reference to the law: it has ceased to exist for Him, because it had ceased to exist for the Church of the historian in its earlier form, and because from his doctrine of the Person of Jesus it had necessarily passed away.

For this reason, also, the question of righteousness did not occupy the thoughts of Jesus' followers. Salvation existed solely in their recognition of what He was, and in their participation,

in communion with Him, of the life from God. The question of righteousness is only once mentioned (xvi. 8), and is here settled in terms of the higher knowledge by the statement that Jesus has gone to His Father. For the rest, all this does not mean any depreciation or ignoring of the law and Holy Scripture, but only that the revelation given in the law was so completely transcended by that of the Son, that it could no longer engage their thought (i. 17, 18). Moses could not impart the knowledge of God, the Scriptures could not impart eternal life; that they could was only an opinion of the Jews (v. 39). What the Scriptures and Moses were in reality able to give to the Jews was simply and solely an indication, a testimony to Jesus (ver. 39, 45 f.). Even their descent from Abraham was valueless: for it did not prevent them actually belonging to the devil (viii. 33 ff.). Life sprang as little from Abraham as from Moses, who could give them no bread to eat from heaven (vi. 32). From all this is explained the radical saying: all who came before Me are thieves and robbers (x. 8), *i.e.*, because in their error they did not know the way. This picture of Jesus could only be sketched, this teaching only delivered, at a time when the fight with and the question of the law lay entirely in the past. The inconsistency apparently involved in it is explained from the perfect liberty which has become a sure possession in the transcendent conception formed of Jesus.

Further, the universalism of the Gospel is not so simple and absolute as it would have been, had it been simply a deduction of the teaching from the universal mission assigned to the manifestation of the Logos. In the history of Jesus the calling of the Gentiles is almost as remote—an event to be looked forward to—as it is in the other Gospels. This may, in the first place, be regarded as a view necessarily adopted from the actual history; no representation of that could permit of the scene of Jesus' labours being changed. Yet the conception peculiar to the writer may be mirrored in the manner in which this aspect of His activity is presented. Now, the distinctive fact is here to be observed, that the entrance of the Gentiles is accounted for on

different grounds from those in the older Gospels and in Paul. According to the former, the Gospel comes to the Gentiles, because the Jews have shown themselves to be unworthy. According to Paul it was from the beginning equally destined for both Jews and Gentiles, although their historical preparation was different. In the Fourth Gospel, on the other hand, the advance to the Gentiles takes the form of a natural extension, of a growth from a given point. The most definite statement as to the admission of the Gentiles, given by the Gospel in the words of Jesus Himself, is contained in x. 16: 'Other sheep have I, which are not of this fold, and I must lead them also: and they shall hear My voice, and there shall be one flock and one shepherd.' There can be no doubt that by these sheep the Gentiles are to be understood. But in that case it is also certain that in the earlier passage the sheep which the shepherd summons as his own and which follow his call (x. 3 f.) can only be taken to mean the believing Jews. The other sheep, which equally belong to Him and listen to His call, only succeed them and fall into the second place. The Gentiles are not invited because those first called had failed to accept; nor is the way by which they came to the shepherd different. By nature both divisions belong to Him alike, for the whole world is His. It is, however, all the more to be observed that the Gentiles are only an addition to the Church which, in the first place, came forth complete, and without need of more, from the Jews.

This simple gradation stands as the result of the antecedent history, and that fact points to the author having come from and belonged to Jewish Christianity. The same course and the same conception are also indicated by the relation of *ἀρνία* and *προβάτια* in xxi. 15-17. This is also true of the note (xi. 52) on the involuntary prophecy by the High Priest Caiaphas: that the death of Jesus was not only to benefit the nation, but also to gather the scattered children of God. For by the latter it is only possible to understand the Gentiles; the Divine Logos having been destined to be the light of their life. And accordingly the *Ἕλληνες*

(xii. 20 and vii. 35) are not to be thought of as Jews in the Diaspora, but as being, though proselytes, genuine Greeks. In some sense the author regards the Gentile Christians as, in fact, proselytes. Moreover, the special significance of the narrative of the Greeks (xii. 20) is not so much that Jesus had Himself in that final, critical hour come into contact with Gentiles—an idea that is certainly not carried out. The incident means that Philip, whose later residence in Hierapolis it cannot but suggest, had been appointed to conduct the heathen to Him in the future. During the life of Jesus the extension of the circle of believers is limited to the Samaritans (iv. 39-42), and in their case belief in the Messiah is indicated as the connecting-link (iv. 25). In spite, therefore, of the universalist stand-point involved in the idea of the Logos, the whole view of the relations in which Jesus stood indicates an essentially Jewish origin.

We are led to the same result by the discussion of a subject which indisputably forms one of the most important features of the Gospel, namely, the Jewish controversy, the dispute with the Jews. Undoubtedly this book does not contain Jesus' treatment of the law and of its traditional exposition, which so strikes us especially in the First Gospel. But the controversy with the Jews is not therefore awanting. On the contrary, the whole history is taken up with and unfolded in a series of examples of Jewish unbelief. The Gospel only incidentally mentions their special representatives and parties, particularly the Pharisees who in the Synoptics are the principal and most dangerous of Jesus' opponents. It rather comprehends them all persistently under the name of Jews, a name which is associated throughout with the absolute type of stubborn and reprehensible unbelief. Language like this was certainly not natural on primitive Apostolic ground; and whoever adheres to the composition of the Gospel by an Apostle requires to explain it by at least supposing that the author, writing for Greeks and mid Greek surroundings, put far from him his former home and associations. That is not satisfactory. But even if we suppose him to have been not a Jew but a Gentile

Christian, the language presents difficulties—perhaps even greater difficulties than before. In that case, it is especially hard to reconcile it with the other conception which confronts us, like a leading idea, in the phrase (iv. 22): 'Salvation is of the Jews.' We here come upon a combination of ideas like that met with in Paul, of whom all we can say is, that none but a Christian who was himself a Jew could speak as he has done in both these respects of the Jews. But the real explanation of the language of the Fourth Gospel is to be found in the fact that the author has always before him the unbelieving Judaism hostile to the Church, and that he himself was engaged in the fight with it.

But while a Jewish controversy is by no means absent from the pages of the Gospel, it is different both in form and contents from that in the Synoptics. Strikingly prominent is the Messianic discussion, *i.e.*, not merely the denial that Jesus was the Messiah, but the dispute as to the evidence of Messiahship, and as to whether, judged by that, Jesus was to be regarded as the Messiah. It is even possible from the separate narratives and conversations to construct a complete Messianic theology, in other words, a Jewish Christian polemic on the subject. The introduction is furnished (vii. 41 f., 52) by the reproach made against Jesus, that He came from Galilee, while Scripture showed that the Messiah required to be a descendant of David, and to belong to Bethlehem, the tribal seat of David. The charge of being a Samaritan (viii. 48) merely accentuates this want of the true descent. Consistently with this, it is denied that He possesses the Spirit which was to have been with the Messiah, and He is accused of being inspired by a devil. And, to the same effect, His obscure origin, and His failure to prove His identity, are cast in His teeth (ix. 29 (34)). The discussions in v. 31 ff., viii. 12 ff., turn on the latter imputation, the absence of evidence in support of His claims. The Jews, however, take greatest umbrage (xii. 32 ff.) at the prediction of His death, which in the form of the crucifixion He calls His elevation; for, while they understand quite correctly what that meant, they answer that when the Messiah comes He is destined

according to their doctrine to remain εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, because He must set up His permanent kingdom. All these are marks of His appearance, of its beginning and end.

But His nature also entered into the controversy. Jesus assumes the name of Son of God, and thus places Himself on terms of equality with God the Father; this is in the eyes of the Jews an intolerable, a blasphemous claim (v. 18). He exalts Himself above Abraham, the father of the race, and even maintains that He lived before him (viii. 53 ff.). The Jews consider these assertions impious, deserving, in accordance with their belief, of condemnation and stoning. This is once more repeated, because Jesus by His doctrine of His oneness with God makes Himself a God (x. 33), whereupon a theological argument is started by Jesus Himself as to whether the application of the name to a man can be justified. Under this head comes also the discussion of His person among His disciples, with Thomas, Philip, and Judas (xiv. 5, 8, 22). Here, again, we recognise Jewish imputations: We do not know where He has disappeared to; He has not shown us God; even now He cannot vindicate Himself before the world, but only in the presence of a handful of followers. We can also indirectly perceive the insinuation: How could the Messiah be betrayed? The objection is refuted by Jesus having predicted the betrayal (xiii. 19); and thus it has become a proof of His claims.

It cannot be denied that the Messianic controversy in the Gospel is apt at a first glance to prejudice us in its favour. The author shows himself well versed in Jewish doctrines and ideas, and one is therefore tempted to regard him not only as a Jew, but as one who had heard the objections raised by the Jews against Jesus' testimony to Himself. This view, however, is confronted by the greatest difficulties. It is inconceivable that such objections to Jesus' death should have been stated during His lifetime, and in answer to an obscure symbolical discourse. It is quite as inconceivable that Jesus, apart from the assumption that He was conscious of being the Logos, should have said such things of His

Divine Sonship to His opponents, statements which just because they were of a theological character could not but challenge the theology of the Jews. It is impossible to imagine Jesus actually engaging in such a controversy over His divinity or humanity. And, since the statements of the Gospel as to the Messianic creed of the Jews and their polemic are connected with these impossible accounts of their origin, the conjecture also falls to the ground, that in this section we are dealing with the historical reminiscences of an eye-witness. The controversy is a war of the Epigoni. These are the objections raised by the Jews against the Church after its secession had been consummated, and after the development of its higher doctrine of the person of its Christ had passed through its most essential stages. It is not a controversy of the life-time, but that of the school carried back into the history of the life. That controversy turned principally on the Christology; yet evidence is not wanting that other subjects were involved in it. Not only is the main theme naturally followed by the discussion, traces of which meet us in v. 39, concerning the proof from Scripture. Attacks on Christian usages are also repelled. This is the case in reference to baptism. It is already indicated in iii. 25 that the Christian ideas of purification are different from those of the Jews, or of John's followers. Further, in the discussion of the washing of feet (xiii. 8 ff.), it is possible to see the answer to the objection that a single cleansing could not suffice. So also the discussion of Jesus with the Jews as to the Bread of Life, and again as to eating His flesh and drinking His blood (vi. 48 ff.), contains an argument about and reply to objections to the Lord's Supper—in this sense as intelligible as when taken historically they are unintelligible. It is, however, also premised (ver. 45) that a doctrinal question is here discussed which can only be rightly understood by the aid of God's Spirit. Many other references of the sort probably lurk in the controversial speeches in the Gospel, though we cannot demonstrate them so plainly. One may be discovered in the question of the Jews regarding the man blind from his birth (ix. 1 ff.). The suggestion is particularly

likely in the dialogues, viii. 32 ff. and 41 ff. In the former we may have the answer to the common charge that the Christians were renegades from the paternal home, in the latter the calumny concerning Jesus' origin. Yet in these and the like points we can only conjecture. The principal part, however, the Christological, is plain.

When once we have brought ourselves to regard the argument in the Gospel from the above point of view, we find our conception confirmed in another quarter. Not only does their subject-matter refer us to the controversy of the post-Apostolic Church with the Jews, but we can also see that the Judaism which opposed Christianity did so in the character of a school. When we compare the relative speeches of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel with the controversial discourses in the Synoptics we at once discover a certain difference in the charges made against the Jews. In the latter, they are chiefly aimed at their false legalism and its accompanying hypocrisy, then at their resistance, their animosity, and deafness to the Divine message, and with all this at their arrogant lording it over men's consciences and their mean motives in so doing, especially their greed. Now we certainly find echoes of these charges in the Fourth Gospel; and accordingly the professional feeling of the scribes shows itself in the sneer that Jesus was not one of them, that He had not been regularly trained in the schools (vii. 15). But another charge occupies the foreground throughout; the Jews in their opposition to Jesus constantly demand human testimony; and on this they lay so much stress that the direct force of truth and the demonstrative evidence of facts are entirely lost upon them (v. 31 ff., viii. 13 ff.). At the same time their whole conduct is designed to acquire authority and reputation for themselves (v. 41 ff., vii. 18, viii. 50, 54). The belief in authority and the tendencies created by it furnished therefore the most prominent sign of that Jewish method which ensured spiritual and mental death. Now the period in which this idolatry of authority reigned began with the destruction of Jerusalem, when the administration which had governed and

judged in the name of religion sought and obtained a substitute in the school. The Gospel founds on this presupposition, and furnishes a character sketch of the Judaism of the time, simply by the striking prominence given by it to this feature. The writer was emphasising the contrast when he said that Jesus did not need any one to question Him (xvi. 30).

A writer who discussed the objections of the Jews to the Christian faith so diligently, and was capable of so telling a sketch of Judaism, must in any case have been closely connected with it, must have come into the contact with it necessary for his knowledge. Nor can it be overlooked that the polemic contained in Jesus' dialogues with the Jews is also of a genuinely Jewish character, although John and the Synoptics differ in general about as much in the style of the discussions as in the nature of the Jewish attacks. We may first illustrate this difference by comparing the Scriptural proof employed (in Matt., xxii. 42 ff. and in John, x. 34 ff.) in the question as to the nature of Jesus. In the former the Pharisees are referred to a passage which, according to the assumed exposition, shows the Messiah to be, not the son of David, but his Lord. Even if this answer was not given by Jesus, it takes us to the earliest theology of the Church, when it compiled its evidence in support of Jesus' Messiahship. In the latter, on the contrary, we have a Scriptural proof, which is exclusively negative, and is meant to convince the opponents that the name θεὸς is employed in a wider sense in Scripture than they supposed, without the use referred to being identified with the sense in which the name is applied by Jesus Himself. Accordingly the procedure is in this instance wholly different; it resolves itself into a practice of the art of controversy, of scholastic polemics. The defensive and controversial discourse (John, v. 31 ff., especially 39 ff.) is again of a different character. Here the scope of the reference is as wide as possible; the Jews are referred, in order to their conviction, to the whole of the sacred books and to Moses himself. But the very comprehensiveness of the

reference shows this rejoinder to their attacks to be also a form of scholastic controversy. In all such cases our first impressions of the vast difference between the discussions in the Synoptics and those in the Fourth Gospel are only confirmed. Life predominates in the former, theology in the latter. Speaking generally, this indicates the date of composition quite as certainly as it does the difference between Apostolic and post-Apostolic modes of thought. Of course the familiarity with the controversial methods of the Jews is not conclusive of a Jewish Christian origin. But it is at all events most readily explained by such an assumption.

A distinctive feature of the Fourth Gospel is that it sometimes inserts into Jesus' discourses words actually spoken by His disciples—by believers. The Church comes forward with its testimony, not only in such remarks as xix. 35 and xxi. 24, but also in the speeches themselves, which thus show that they were not meant to be taken historically in the literal sense of the term. In this way only can we explain iii. 11, 13: 'We speak what we know, and testify what we have seen and you accept not our testimony. And no one has ascended into heaven except him who has come down from heaven, the Son of Man who is in heaven.' The first sentence is identical with the testimony in i. 14. The second presupposes the Ascension; in both it is the Church that speaks. We need not therefore be surprised on finding that the controversy of that Church with the Jews is also worked out in the addresses of Jesus. Nor need we wonder that the opponents of Jesus are therefore constantly cited by the name which in the writer's time denoted the enemies of the Christian Church, while at the same time salvation is derived from the Jews. For that very reason stress is laid upon the name which indeed they had no right to bear. The meaning is clear (i. 48) from the words addressed to the man who was truly an Israelite. On the other hand i. 19, ii. 6, 13 show the sense in which the opponents of the Christians are designated Ἰουδαῖοι: *i.e.*, they indeed assumed the name but were not genuine Jews. The Gospel thus reflects the conditions from the midst of which it

issued. And the emphasis laid upon the unwarranted usurpation of the name of Jew points to the existence face to face of two societies which fought over it. The controversy with the Jews was therefore under any circumstances a very important motive in the composition of the Fourth Gospel. It certainly did not furnish its sole aim; not less material was that furnished by the inner development of the Church. Further, the studied presentation of John the Baptist as a witness for Jesus has also perhaps a special significance of its own (i. 6, 15, 19, 26 ff., iii. 23 ff., v. 33 ff.). The statements of the Acts as to the Johannine disciples in Ephesus leave room at any rate for the conjecture that Jews were to be found there who adhered to that prophet without becoming Christians.

§ 3. *The Doctrine of the Logos.*

The whole view of the historical situation of the Gospel is, from what has been said, easily arrived at and consistent in itself. The book presupposes the existence of Gentile Christianity and the great Church; yet its own origin was Jewish Christian, and it was connected by that origin with a circle in which the controversy with the Jews was active and of significance for its own cause. The Judaism which confronted it, however, was that developed after the destruction of Jerusalem. Further, the Gospel was written under the colours of a primitive Apostle. But under cover of that teacher's passionately defended authority we have a new spirit, views which go far beyond those of the primitive Church, a school that could not have been formed before this age, which it indicates as distinctly by its own teaching as by the Judaism it opposed. This teaching does not merely presuppose Paulinism and its consequences, to which indeed there is nowhere a clear reference. It already implies the existence of that Christianity which had begun on heathen soil to develop into an unfettered world-religion, and had carried with it all the healthier elements of Jewish Christianity. Hence the idea that, beginning with the mission of Jesus, this had been accomplished in a steady progress on lines

laid down from the first. But this fact calls for explanation and a clear conception. And to these the doctrine of the Logos, which forms the kernel of the Gospel, assists us. This universal Christianity held by Jews was Alexandrian.

The doctrine of the Divine Logos as the only Son of God, of the same nature with God, is placed by the Gospel at its head; it is quite different from Paul's doctrine of the Son of God who as a heavenly spiritual Being assumed an earthly body. The Son of God was in Paul's sense neither more nor less than the Messiah and Redeemer prepared beforehand by God. And the conception he formed of Him was wholly dependent on the mission thus assigned Him, and led neither to the essential divinity nor to the cosmic significance attributed to Him in the Fourth Gospel. But as the Pauline conception fell back upon the wide-spread Jewish idea of the heavenly world, in which the Messiah and the blessings of the heavenly kingdom had been created beforehand and only waited to be revealed, so this teaching had a basis of its own. The Johannine doctrine rested on the notion of the Logos held by Alexandrian Judaism, by which it had been used to transform the old faith in God into a philosophy intended to solve the whole problems of the universe, and to recommend that faith to heathen thinkers. It was possible for Christian teachers to appropriate the notion, without therefore passing over into the sphere of an alien mode of thought, or completely revolutionising their own. Its adoption was as legitimate and as unhesitating on the part of the Jewish Christians of Alexandria as on that of the Jews. The former also took their stand on the conviction that they rested on the faith of their fathers. The novel element added to Philo's doctrine of the Logos was neither more nor less than that the Messiah, the manifested Son of God, was the Logos. This the Jewish philosophy had not realised: nay, it was impossible that it should know the truth, because it had not known the Son. But now the problem was solved, in the spiritual power of the Son and the conquest of the world by His Word.

Nobody maintains that the Johannine doctrine of the Logos rose, as it were, out of the ground, and without any historical antecedents. The language of the very prologue to the Gospel implies that the notion was familiar. An esoteric doctrine taught by Jesus, and now first brought to light, is inconceivable, unless we would deny to the whole tradition of the Synoptic Gospels all connection with the primitive Apostles. It is impossible to establish other than an artificial connection between the notion and anything contained in the books of the Old Testament. Nowhere is the Word of God conceived as an independent Being; still less is it an equivalent for the Messiah. And while the Rabbinic doctrine of the Memra of God found it in these books, it was only at a much later date. The Word of God, which as God was with God, from the beginning, without any other derivation than that it belonged to the Being of God, this Word as Creator of the world, as the Light in darkness, and the whole relative antithesis between light and darkness, life and death, above and beneath—all this, not merely the individual notions, but the whole conception, is only, but completely, to be found in Philo. And it will never be possible to explain, except by this derivation of the doctrine from Philo, what strikes us most in this Johannine teaching, especially the hypothesis of the cosmic antithesis, which is conceived as actual without any question as to its origin, and which does not disturb the thought of the unity of the world.

There is the less reason for rejecting the derivation of the notion from Philo, since facts are not wanting to prove that the Alexandrian mode of thought made its way at an early date into the Christian Church. We may at any rate regard as a confirmatory fact the above discussed Apollos, though we are limited in his case to the tendency and know nothing of his teaching. The letter to the Hebrews, which must have been written between A.D. 70 and A.D. 90, furnishes us with clearer evidence. The statements in this writing do not go so far as the Johannine doctrine. Yet it also regards the Son as the Creator and pre-

server of the world, as the reflection of the Divine glory and the express image of the Divine nature, all which is expressed in the language of Philo. But it is only stated in the form of a presupposition borrowed from another source, and meant to support the proclamation and the priesthood of the Son in their truth and greatness; the circle of ideas is not itself dominated by it. The relation of the Son to God is, in the first place, the foundation from which to deduce His ascendency over the angels, and the superiority of His revelation. The letter to the Hebrews stands in a sense half-way between Pauline and Johannine teaching. It goes beyond the former by its adoption of the categories of Philo, especially for the cosmic position of the Son; but it confines itself within its limits in making the work of salvation the ultimate standard in reference to the conception of the Son. And precisely for this reason, that work does not simply consist, as in John's Gospel, in the revelation of the Person of the Son, but in the High Priestly purification. An essential step had been taken, however, towards the adoption of the Alexandrian ideas.

The Logos, with whom the Fourth Gospel starts, is a person. As such He is the original agent in the creation of the world, the bearer of light and life for men, He who became flesh; what He was as the primeval Logos with God, that He is as the Son who is with the Father, on the most confidential terms with Him, and therefore able to tell of Him what no one knew. Now the view that by this Logos, who was in the beginning with God, we may understand 'the word' of the Gospel is incorrect if meant to explain the conception, and yet it is not altogether on a wrong scent. It is so far correct that it affects a connecting link in the transference of the conception. The teaching of the Gospel had long been familiar with the term 'Word of God,' λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ, and there are writings, especially later ones like those of Luke, which prefer it. The essential purport of this 'Word,' is, however, Jesus Himself, His person. Now, when this person is called the Word of God to denote that He is essentially one with God, we have not merely a change of meaning. The two

applications are connected, the one being a natural intensification of the other; the conception of the perfect revelation of God in the Gospel passes into that of the perfect revelation of the Divine nature in general. Faith in the former found its ultimate ground in the latter. The Christian welcomed what the philosophic theology offered as supplementing and explaining his own thought. When this stage was reached, however, the freshly acquired and overwhelming conception changed faith into a new knowledge. Therefore in the Johannine doctrine believing is simply knowing, πιστεύειν is equal to γινώσκειν. But the doctrine of the Logos has not grown out of the name used for the Gospel; it was adopted in the form of a complete statement; only its appropriation was more easily carried out in this way.

Now the philosophy which forms part of the Logos doctrine is not developed fully: the doctrines of creation and providence are confined to the prologue, and the ideas of life and light are in the course of the book used less in their cosmic than in their ethical significance. But this is not sufficient to justify the view that in these ethical and religious conceptions we possess the roots of the other, and that we can thus demonstrate the distinction between the teaching of Jesus—or at any rate, of the older tradition—and the speculative thought which merely formed an external addition to it. The philosophy was not merely a sort of covering hung over the history and the faith, but it defined the notions throughout. The light and life in the believer's consciousness as imparted to him by Jesus were simply what the Logos gave to the world. And nothing proves this connection more clearly than the fact that the Gospel regards him who accepted the word of Jesus as simply fulfilling the destiny that was already his, and as bringing to light the great cleavage that already existed between belief and unbelief. Any further philosophical treatment was prevented by the nature of the case. This limitation, however, of the doctrinal ideas on which the book is founded, has undoubtedly a deep significance, one that sheds light upon the whole course of the history.

The adoption of the doctrine of the Logos was not an adoption pure and simple; it involved its revision and transformation. Derived as it was from Jewish philosophy, it became on Christian soil an essentially new doctrine. This is virtually implied in the fact that the Logos became a person, in a sense wholly different from that of the Jews. But this led to a change in the thought of the moral influence of the Logos upon men. The communication of Divine powers in order to the purification from sin and a growing knowledge was transformed into the communication of the Christ Himself and of His whole nature. And by this means the Deity was brought down from the unattainable heights of the incomprehensible Supreme Being, and became a living personal unity. The believer had the Father, because he had the Son. The conception of the Supreme Being as a unity had passed into that of the indivisibility of the personal relationship. Contained in the living consciousness of faith, it could not be further analysed. But it was an actual possession.

Here we have reached what is commonly called the mysticism of the Gospel; it does not appear as a special department of the philosophy, but is entwined with it. On the notion of Christ as a truly Divine person, there was founded and reared a relationship in which the attitude of the disciples to Him went far beyond the devotion, trust, obedience, and love fitly offered to the human Messiah and messenger of God. It was a relationship which insisted above all on that perfect unity in the Spirit which found its pattern and its ground in the unity of the Son with the Father. Now Paul had certainly been the first to state the mystical ideas of 'Christ in us,' and of 'the life in Christ.' But the Christ of whom he was thinking was not Christ in the flesh, but the spiritual being as He was now known, the Christ who had come to life through death, and thus justified and regenerated us. In the Johannine conception, on the contrary, there is no such distinction between the Divine Logos in Himself and the Logos in the flesh. The Jesus of history is the entire Logos; union with the latter is union with the historical

personality; no longer is it said that 'we know Christ no more after the flesh.' Christ in the flesh is indeed on the way to His exaltation, but even while on the earth, in His personal manifestation, He is already the Divine Being with whom such a union can be formed. Thus did the Alexandrian Logos first assume a new form; the philosophical became a religious conception. The significance of the former consisted in the Logos being the Creator; the latter added that through Him the complete self-surrender of man to the Deity was consummated. As the Jewish Alexandrian philosophy combined Jewish faith and heathen thought, so in John this monotheistic philosophy of the universe was united with the Christian doctrine of redemption. This did not altogether result from the application of the already existent conception of the Logos to the person of Jesus, from its use as furnishing a rational view and explanation of the latter. There must have been an additional motive, one of a personal character. The exuberant recollection of a disciple who in thought lost himself in the Master took up this interpretation of His nature and impressed upon it the character of the faith. The result, what we have in the Fourth Gospel, is hardly capable of being explained except by this combination. This is the crucial point in which the twofold aspect of the Gospel asserts itself and points to an origin, in itself divided, and yet one.

The union, however, at so early a date of the personal faith in Jesus with the doctrine of the Logos in itself became of the greatest significance for the history of Christianity. It meant neither more nor less than that the Church had come to regard its religion as universal, and that in a form which prepared the way for the whole future amalgamation of the Christian idea with the highest thought of Greek philosophy. But it had a special importance at the historical moment at which it occurred, and that quite as much in reference to Paulinism as to the common Gentile Christianity. It cannot be denied that throughout the previous process of development the Christ of history had come to take a secondary place. With Paul this was the

necessary consequence of his own history; that he had not known Jesus clung to him to the end. And while his Judaistic opponents, who used this fact to justify their attacks, were in the wrong, since they were themselves as far as possible from understanding Jesus, yet they had hit on the weak point in his position. The consequence of this defect was that the splendour of Jesus' personal life and work was lost in the salvation secured by His death and resurrection, the living Man in the destiny appointed by the decree of God.

Now the advance in the Johannine thought consisted simply in the transference of the ideal greatness of the belief to the life of Jesus Himself; and it is obvious of what immeasurable importance this was for the permanence of Christianity as a historical religion, and for its capacity for development when compared with the stereotyped doctrinal categories. To see this we need only realise how much more flexible, how much more capable of appropriation the Johannine ideal of Christ is than the Pauline doctrine of Christ. The whole provisions of a doctrine of man's salvation, essentially conceived in opposition to the doctrine of the law, the whole plan of the way to and in the grace of God, pales before the simple thought of the imitation of Jesus, of the acceptance of His word, of faith in Himself. And when we compare this new creation with the common Christianity which, without the distinctively Pauline colouring, emanated from the Apostolic age, we find that they are similarly related. The rational monotheism of the latter, the preponderance alike of ethics and of faith in the resurrection, set in the foreground motives which, while they started from the name of Christ, recognised the Man Himself merely as their embodiment and pioneer. The Christ of the Synoptics failed adequately to counterbalance this tendency, as we see from the fact that the Church derived more from the Old Testament books than from the Gospel; the world in which the historical mission of Jesus was fulfilled was too much out of sympathy with it, was incapable of fully understanding it.

It is somewhat strange, and at the first glance startling, that precisely the highest speculations as to the nature of Christ necessarily led back to the full appreciation of His historical personality. Yet that is the case. The immediate consequence of this process is the double aspect of the Gospel. Neither the narrative nor the words of Jesus can conceal their origin from the doctrine of the Logos. The supernatural, the absolutely miraculous conception of Godhead in the flesh, has created a picture which throughout transcends, like an all-pervading manifestation, the real history, and is especially strange to our modern historical sense. And yet the saying is not unwarranted that it is an indispensable supplement to the Synoptic idea of Christ, and that from it alone we possess and understand the explanation of the whole higher influence of His personality. Its great charm, which was expressed by the ancients in the saying that while the other evangelists gave the body, John gave the spirit of the history, and which even to-day exerts a similar power over the minds of Christians, was due to the transference of the whole subsequent effect of the life, of its result for faith, into the history itself. By the very fact that it brings before us a wealth of allegory, the book has vindicated for the person of Christ its true place in the faith; and in the simple thought that in this personal Being the believer receives all he needs, John has secured for all time the position of that personality in the assurance of salvation. Words which seem strange if taken to have been uttered by Christ concerning Himself are at once seen in another light, when they are regarded as coming from a disciple, and as revealing the after-influence of intercourse with Him. As such it was possible to subordinate them to the doctrine of the Logos, and to obtain from them material for this original theological Gospel, which in form is history, in contents a science of the history.

This distinctive character of the book has of itself brought us back to the question of its origin. The question is at once decided when we perceive that the Gospel aims at a complete

vindication of the authority of an Apostle, that it must have emanated from a school which sought to transform into the common property of Christendom what it possessed and reverenced in its Apostolic head. In addition to this proof, however, we have the fact that the whole peculiarity of thought and aim is only to be explained from the above relationship. The appropriation of the conception of the Logos and its application to Christ would account neither for the confidence with which the history is described as that of the incarnate Logos, nor for the simplicity of the idea of faith, its wholly personal nature. We only get at the root of the matter by assuming that the exposition rests on the conception and authority of a creed genuinely Apostolic. By that alone is the problem presented by the whole phenomenon to be solved. It is inconceivable that a primitive Apostle should have carried out the combination of the Logos doctrine with the personal belief in Christ. But it is as inconceivable that it should have been originally effected by a later writer without the powerful influence of the testimony of one of the Twelve. We are not alluding here to isolated passages containing historical matter. Although it is difficult to pick them out from the free version given by the author, there certainly do exist traces of such notes in the Gospel; every now and again we will see reason to suppose such an independent and genuine tradition in one or other of the incidents recorded. That, however, does not compel us to derive the whole from a single Apostolic teacher; such traditions might exist in general circulation. But the case is wholly different with the grand pervading characteristic of personal devotion; the manner in which this dominates the whole is no consequence of the Logos doctrine, but the expression of experience. The descriptions in the two main divisions of the Gospel, in the one, of Jesus' triumph over His enemies, in the other—the counterpart—of the irresistible attraction by which He drew His disciples to Himself, form a character-sketch which could only have been produced by a disciple whose character, whose spirit had been moulded and taken possession of by the experiences he

portrays. The circle of disciples who appropriated this formed a revived Christus-party in the higher sense. The powerful influence exerted by the personality of the Apostle is best illustrated by the fact of the school producing works so different as the Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel. The tendencies revealed in them may both have developed under his eyes; the greatness and certainty of his faith dominate them; but they allow also of the freedom of development.

CHAPTER VIII

EPHESUS—ALLIED COMPOSITIONS

§ 1. *Introductory*

THE teaching of the Fourth Gospel is mainly of a contemplative character; it is not planned for the mission. In this also we can recognise the difference of the earlier period. The book is rather of an esoteric nature. And thus it is intelligible, indeed self-evident, that it made its way very slowly. We must not take it for granted that its history was identified with the lingering influence of the Apostle's teaching in Ephesus. We are not compelled to believe that his disciples such as Polycarp shared the doctrines of the Gospel. Besides, it appeared at a time when, while Christianity was extending steadily and in part with extraordinary rapidity, the Churches of the separate provinces mainly pursued their own paths. Thus the Church of Asia Minor developed in its own way; the Fourth Gospel first gradually obtained full recognition in it, and then was circulated in other quarters. It was indeed somewhat different from the Synoptics, and required to make a way for itself with its teaching. When we compare the Gospel with the great phenomenon, so dangerous to religion, of the philosophical eclectic religion, the so-called Gnosticism, the conjecture is exceedingly natural that not only was there an affinity but a historical relation between them. The Gospel itself represents a Gnosis, a higher school of Christian knowledge. But even the content of the thoughts presents parallels. The explanation of the universe by the Divine Logos,

and the ideas of life and light, remind one of the Gnostic doctrines of development in the Godhead, and of the origin of the universe; the antithesis of light and darkness recalls the Gnostic series of worlds. Nor are traces of the illusory form ascribed to Christ by Gnosticism awanting in the Gospel. But the latter does not presuppose the existence of the heresy; it has neither borrowed from nor argued against it. The opposition which it kept in view was wholly confined to hostile Judaism. If there was any historical relation in the case, it was that, not Gnosticism in general, but individual schools found their starting-point, or at least support for their views, in the Gospel.

§ 2. *The Epistles of John.*

On the other hand a historical relation of a different kind made its appearance. The Johannine school found cause to combat Gnosis. The first of the letters ascribed to John in our Canon belongs to the school; it represents the spirit and thoughts of the Gospel, but overwhelming indications show that it was written later. Expressions are here repeated which occur in the Gospel and only there find their true context and are perfectly intelligible. The thoughts of the Evangelist are popularised, as if transplanted into another sphere, and at the same time, in part, rendered superficial. The letter itself refers to a past period of the Church, at whose beginning it places instruction through the Gospel. Its date is marked by its reference to the controversy about the purity of the Church and the possibility of repentance, a question which, from our other information, became current at about the time when the great Gnostic systems arose—a coincidence also involved in the nature of the case. For the rest, the writing is by no means a letter proper, but a didactic composition in the form of an exhortation which could be used anywhere. The style is aphoristic, with parentheses and resumption of the thought: in this we have also an imitation of the Gospel, but without the grand trait of intuition which prevails in the latter.

The exhortation of the letter is not, however, merely positive, a general Christian charge to live holily and adhere to the faith. On the contrary, it is directed against definite heresies and opponents: the letter has a polemic aim. The time is described as one in which there lived many antichrists. Antichrist is therefore no longer regarded as one destructive power antagonistic to Christianity; he is resolved into a plurality of energies, and the antichrists are the preachers of false and disintegrating doctrines. Even this general sketch points to Gnosticism. But further, the distinctive doctrines of the heresy are combated and rejected—the thought of a darkness in the Godhead—Docetism in the doctrine of Christ, both as regards His manifestation and His death—Antinomianism and the contention that those who were spiritual possessed a character in itself sinless. All this points to a period which had to do, not merely with the beginnings of Gnosis, but with the doctrines of the great Gnostics. The Johannine tradition was now defending itself with all its energy against this phase of a speculation which had drawn its support from its own teaching.

The second letter of John is neither more nor less than a short extract from the first; it has an external motive, and is addressed to a definite, though unknown, Church. Trouble threatened the Church from the Gnostic teaching which is now combated. The third letter seems to be closely connected with the second. It only hints obscurely at the doctrinal schism; its object is different, though closely related, being to fortify the authority of the head of the Church against partisan efforts, and at the same time to strengthen a supervision which served to protect the good cause.

These letters of John are therefore the oldest testimony to the continuous influence of the Johannine Gospel. They supplement it in so far as the appeals of the first bring vividly before us the full authority of the Apostle, while the exhortations, from their aphoristic form and repetitions, appear, in part at least, to have been taken from a collection of his sayings handed down by

tradition. Looking at the whole matter, however, it is remarkable and worthy of reflection that this very Church of Asia Minor had become, in a pre-eminent fashion, the nursery of the primitive Apostolic tradition. Though the name of Peter was exalted so highly elsewhere, it was impossible for it to gather round it anything of the sort, because there was no school. The letter of Clement gives Peter the highest place; but when drawing from the teaching of its predecessors it had only Paul, or Paul's disciples, to fall back upon. In the Church of Asia Minor the production of doctrine and the authority went hand in hand.

§ 3. *The Letters to the Ephesians and the Colossians.*

The zeal with which the Fourth Gospel defends the authority of John indicates that that authority was not undisputed, or at least that it was not generally known and acknowedged. This may mean that in Rome and a great portion of the Church Peter alone enjoyed after a fashion the supreme dignity of a primitive Apostle, and that would explain the effort of the Johannine school. But the explanation of the fact is strengthened, if we may suppose that after the death of John opinions were divided, even in Asia Minor, as to which had been the greater. And, according to all appearance, a controversy arose in that region as to authorities similar to the one waged about forty years before in Corinth. It would have been wonderful if the name of Paul had not been again brought forward on this occasion. Now an attempt of the sort was without doubt made in the letters to Timothy; but these belong to a still later date. Yet even before them, at the very time of the controversy, the effort seems to have been made with the letters to the Ephesians and to the Colossians. And these letters are specially significant, in that they aim at a development of Pauline teaching and an intervention in the conflicts of the times, in a way which presents a real parallel to the Johannine school.

Even if the mention of the place is wanting in the inscription,

the so-called letter to the Ephesians reveals its destination in the allusion to Tychicus (vi. 21). It is distinctly stated that the letter is to be taken as written by Paul from prison, while on the other hand, in the very same passage, it betrays its composition by another writer in the elaborate instruction given as to Paul himself and his vocation (iii. 1 ff.). And this alone renders it conceivable that Paul should here have addressed the Gentile Christians, acting as the representative of the Jewish section of the Church in a way quite foreign to the Paul of history. It is only the fictitious Paul we can imagine declaring in the above capacity to the Gentiles that they had been accepted, not as aliens and strangers, but as true members of the commonwealth and household of God, having been admitted through the redemptive work of Christ, though called from afar to share in it. The Apostle of the Gentiles was thus brought into the present. He is not indeed altogether the man who once defended the rights of the Gentiles. But he represents the principles of equality and of the unity of the Church, and by this means his memory is revived in a manner which has a peculiar significance of its own in face of the Johannine school and its attitude in this question. He is, however, brought into competition with the teaching of that school in another respect: as one who had perceived and taught no less completely than John the universal significance of the person of Christ. For the Son was not merely the instrument chosen by the loving will of God for the redemption and reconciliation of all men; but this Divine will had decreed that in Him all things, in heaven as well as on earth, should be brought under one Head. The Jews had therefore already hoped for the Christ. But what had now been revealed through Him was for them, as for the whole world, a secret, and the mystery was first made manifest to His Apostles and prophets; it had formerly been hidden even from the spirits of heaven, the dominions and powers in the celestial world. The Church possessed the mystery, *i.e.* Christ, in herself; she was His body, His complement: He it was, however, who filled all in all. The saints were destined, while being

themselves possessed by Him, to attain that 'fulness of God,' and also the maturity inherent in the 'fulness of Christ.' This cosmic destination of the Gospel—the mystery of the Aeons and its present revelation—the idea of the πλήρωμα in Christ and of its realisation in the Church—these are the essential doctrines in which a speculative system was developed, quite as original as the Johannine with which it was compared. They have their points of contact with the Pauline teaching; but they go beyond it. Paul had only foreshadowed thoughts like these as the ultimate background; here Pauline universalism has become a mystical theory. And he had not applied the idea of the all-pervading Godhead to the Church, but had looked forward to it as belonging to the final state hereafter.

The parallel letter to the Colossians reveals the same circle of thoughts, and a similar relation to the Paul of history. It has the advantage over the other of a definite historical occasion, and a corresponding object for its being written. It also adheres to history, in that Paul never visited the Phrygian city, Christianity having been planted there by his disciple Epaphras. Thus the explanations given by Paul as to himself and his mission can be accounted for. The language again in certain passages is more reminiscent of the Apostle than in Ephesians. Paragraphs certainly occur here also in which we have long-winded scholastic explanations such as mark the other epistle. But side by side with these we have parts which are full of life, and are quite like the Pauline letters in heartfelt warmth and in the strong light they cast upon the thought. On the other hand, this letter also gives the first place to the cosmic mystery of the Christ—of Christ the bearer of the fulness of the Godhead, and the agent in the Divine completion of all things. Certain aspects of this idea are still more definitely stated. Its basis is given in the fact that in Christ, the first-born of creation, all things in heaven and earth, and very specially invisible powers of every kind, were called into existence. And so also we find its application in the statement that His atoning work was meant not merely for man-

kind, but extended to celestial as well as earthly beings, that what was in heaven also required to be brought to God through Him. The place given to the Church in this work is emphatically shown in the declaration that the afflictions of the Christians form part of it, and so the sufferings of Paul himself belong to the afflictions of Christ as their necessary supplement and completion.

Now the teaching of the letter was designed to combat and to guard the readers against a heresy. They had been heathens, and had been converted from heathenism to Christianity. Indeed the danger to their faith was due to 'a philosophy and deceit after the tradition of men, after the elements of the world and not after Christ.' This does not compel us to assume that the heresy was heathen in its origin. Philosophy, it is true, is not a term used by Paul to denote Jewish religiousness. But its use is founded on the Alexandrian idiom, and the Jewish cultus could be referred, as we see from the Galatian letter, to the elements of the world. In discussing the heresy more closely, the letter then in point of fact uses language similar to that of Galatians in speaking of the judging of other men's consciences in the matter of food and drink, of feasts, new-moons, and Sabbaths. It further describes the heretics as men who indulged in the worship of angels and in visions, and thus lost Christ as the Head,—in absolute contradiction to the true doctrine according to which all celestial powers were subordinate to Him. But further, at the close of the whole disquisition, the letter speaks of the imposition of commands no longer related to the Jewish cultus, but representative of a comprehensive asceticism which plainly rested on a dualistic basis. We have no other historical knowledge of a doctrine combining all these features. It is to be found neither in Essenism nor in Ebionitism; nor are we acquainted with any form of Gnostic teaching which would correspond to it in this exact synthesis.

However, our knowledge is not exhaustive, and unless we had other reasons for questioning it, we should require to content

ourselves with the fact. A way is offered out of the difficulty by the view that not one but two parties are described. But this can only be worked out artificially. Accordingly it is at all events open to us to ask, whether the simpler and natural explanation is not to be found in the assumption that a new phenomenon is controverted in the name of Paul, but also after the pattern of Pauline polemic, and with the use of relevant ideas borrowed from it. In that case we have merely a preparatory introduction in the Pauline manner in the sentences: 'So let no man judge you as to food or drink, or in regard to holy-day, new-moon, or Sabbath; these are a shadow of things to come, but the body is Christ's.' Then, however, the writer takes up and condemns the heresies of his time—angelolatry and dualistic asceticism—in the passage that starts afresh with 'Let no man deprive you of the reward.' That this is the chief subject appears from the preliminary teaching concerning Christ, the distinctive kernel of which consists, in fact, in the subordination of the angels to Christ, and the need, even for that world of spirits, of reconciliation. Even yet we have not obtained a view to correspond accurately to a known historical quantity; but we do possess one simpler and more self-consistent than if it were hampered with the adjunct of Jewish ritualism. It has a historical parallel at all events in the early beginnings of an encratitic mode of thought in combination with a doctrine of spirits indicative of dualism. As the strictly monotheistic Logos doctrine formed the antithesis to such speculations, so Paul is now introduced as having already exploded the whole heresy in his teaching. We have in any case a first stage of Gnosticism; it may be regarded as a parallel and counterpart to that form of its initial existence dealt with in the epistles of the Apocalypse. The doctrine of spirits, which in them led to Antinomianism, leads in this epistle to its allied opposite in dualistic asceticism.

Now while this is sufficient to make it extremely probable that the epistle to the Colossians was a post-Apostolic production of a Pauline school, two additional grounds can be alleged in

support of our conclusion. The one is involved in the catalogue of social duties, which the letter has in common with that to the Ephesians, and which can hardly be ascribed to Paul; it points rather to the need of rules felt by the Gentile Christians of a subsequent generation. The other ground is suggested by the salutation-section of the letter; doubts are raised by the explanatory notes as to individuals, and very specially by the separation of Paul's adherents into Jewish and Gentile Christians, and the importance obviously assigned to the former, whether we compare these features with the practice and ideas of the Apostle, or with the destination of the letter for a Gentile Christian Church. The letter to Philemon is closely connected with that to the Colossians in both these respects; this fact can only confirm, however, the view taken of the latter in so far as the former brief composition is evidently designed to present by means of an example new teaching for the Christian life, its allegorical character being at once apparent in the name Onesimus.

It is not to be denied that sentences due to Paul may possibly have been adopted in one or other of the two epistles; and that to the Colossians especially suggests this. But there is no sure ground on which to distinguish them, and the relation of the letters to each other does not help us to one; for they were in all probability written, not in succession, but together. This is indicated in Col. iv. 16, if we are at all entitled to take the letter to Laodicea there mentioned as our epistle to the Ephesians. The charge, that whenever the one is read the other is to be read also, implies that they were meant to supplement each other, and were composed, with that object, on one complete plan. Both therefore start from the same ideas, the same doctrine; the aim of the one is to recommend the liberty of the Church through its constitution, that of the other to defend on the same basis the faith of Christ against the intrusion of alien teaching. It is distinctive, however, of the Church of Asia Minor, that its wants are here again met with a mystical doctrine of the development of the world, and that this doctrine is placed under the name of Paul.

BOOK V

THE CHURCH

CHAPTER I

THE MEETINGS OF THE CONGREGATION

SECTION I. GENERAL VIEW

§ 1. *Nature of the Meeting.*

When we speak of the meetings of the Christian communities we include what is commonly called Divine service. The former name is, however, the more correct. It at all events precludes all those ideas of a ritual observance which have been borrowed, either from the older religions, or from the later practice of Christian Churches. In point of fact a Divine service in the stricter sense held no place in those meetings. What was done at them was not meant to influence Deity; not even worship was the chief object; the central idea was the common expression of the faith as such. Our nearest parallel to this practice is the synagogue, whose service consisted essentially in instruction in the law, and was devoted to the sacred writings. In the Church the object already was to cherish the religious possession in the spiritual life. But among believers another possession took the place of the law, namely, Christ, and this change involved a different kind of observance. As a matter of fact, the case was in all points such that what was done in these meetings had become something wholly original, the independent creation of the faith, resting only in external features to some extent on historical precedents and foundations.

Virtually the same form is presented by these meetings in the different parts of the Apostolic letters; hardly any important distinction existed between the Jewish and the Gentile Christian Churches. We certainly know very little about the meetings of the former. There is a short description in Acts ii. 42, where we are told that 'the Church adhered to the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship, to the breaking of bread and prayers'; but even this cannot be said to present us with a view of the meetings. It is rather a picture of the general state of the community, as it existed after the increase at Pentecost. All we can infer from Acts vi. 4 is that 'a ministry of the word' was allotted by the writer to the Apostles, while the breaking of bread points to a gathering for that purpose. It is evident that the author of the Acts had only general and vague ideas of these meetings of the primitive Church. And we have no other source of information; the Catholic epistles, including that of James, belong to later times; nor does Paul tell us anything about them. Yet indications are not wanting in details, that the distinctive phenomena of the later period reached back to the early Church. We only obtain clear descriptions, however, from Paul; and these naturally apply to the new Churches, and of those principally to that of Corinth alone. Besides Paul's statements, the Apocalypse is specially worthy of attention. It only presents us with pictures of a meeting and Divine service in heaven, and these are conceived as typical; but the delineation without doubt followed the actual proceedings in the Church on earth. This is at once implied in the fact that the seer, who is compelled on the Lord's day in Patmos (i. 10) to absent himself from the meeting of the Church, is able, as if to atone for the deprivation, to take part in the heavenly service. What he there saw in a series of acts is therefore at any rate suggestive of what usually occurred at the actual meetings of the Church. Of course, it is a question how far the Apocalypse refers to the primitive Christian Church. But since the book certainly belonged to a line of development wholly independent of Paul, the comparison at any rate furnishes

a proof of the essential unity of ritual where it results in a complete and consistent sketch.

As regards the primitive Church, we have to begin with the fact that it was not prepared to invent a Divine service of its own. For whatever may have been the participation of the Church in the Temple service in detail, it adhered to the Temple. The institution of another service is in any case out of the question. Accordingly the meetings can only have been meant for the mutual expression, confirmation, and exposition of their faith in Christ. An entirely opposite relation to their ancient religion led the Gentile Christians to the same result. Their new faith was absolutely opposed to the old, and therefore to the whole form of its cultus. The essential feature of the latter, the influencing of the Deity through sacrifices, was therefore excluded from their usages; and so for them also nothing was left but the asseveration of their faith in common with their fellow-Christians.

Paul uses the term λογικὴ λατρεία to describe the Christian service (Rom. xii. 1). This is not identical with λατρεία πνευματική; the Apostle did not intend in this passage to state that the service was performed under the direction and with the help of the Divine Spirit; but he meant that as distinguished from every form of sacrificial worship the Christian service was performed in and by the worshipper himself, and under law to thought or the guidance of reason (cf. Phil. iii. 3). In the same way the term λειτουργεῖν, applied by the LXX. to the Temple service, has been connected by Paul, in keeping with its derivation, with efforts made on behalf of Church objects (2 Cor. ix. 12). The connotation in both passages is ethical; and if we regard the meetings as meant for worship, the worship is only to be thought of as ethical. The congregation itself is called by Paul ἐκκλησία, so also in the writings dependent on Pauline literature and on the other hand in the Apocalypse, but only exceptionally in the Gospels, in Matthew. The full name is the ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ (1 Cor. x. 32, Gal. i. 13), and to it as such belong all the gifts of God essential to the edification of the community

(1 Cor. xii. 28). All that took place in the meeting was for the common benefit (1 Cor. xiv. 3., 26), for the instruction and guidance of all (1 Cor. iv. 17).

§ 2. *Two Kinds of Meeting.*

A whole series of subjects relative to the meetings are discussed from xi. 1 to xiv. 40, in the classic source for their history, viz., 1 Cor. The passage is not exhaustive; it relates to matters in which an admonition had become necessary, or as to which the Apostle had been questioned, viz., the veiling of women, the celebration of the Lord's Supper, the gifts of the Spirit, prophecy, speaking with tongues, order in the congregation, and the behaviour of the women. Yet the discussion is comprehensive enough to give us all the information we require as to these customs. It is true of the whole of them that they belonged to the congregation of the whole community. We are told in connection with the Lord's Supper (xi. 18, 20, 22), that the members of the Church assembled ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, and ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό; accordingly people met who were of the most varied social conditions (xi. 21 f.). So also in the regulations as to speaking with tongues it is implied (xiv. 23) that the whole community assembled (cf. ver. 4, 5, 12, 19, 28). And the general instruction as to the order (xiv. 26, ff.) was given with a view to general meetings.

The question rises, however, whether all these observances belonged to one or to different meetings. On this point we have no direct statement. The report made by Pliny, the governor of Bithynia, to Trajan in the post-Apostolic age, relates that the Christians confessed when under examination: *quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo quasi deo dicere secum invicem—quibus peractis morem sibi discedendi fuisse, rursusque coëundi ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum tamen atque innoxium.* Here accordingly two meetings were held on the same day. Justin Martyr, on the other hand, undoubtedly describes the Sunday service as a single meeting, at which there were reading and preaching

and the celebration of the Eucharist. But this was almost fifty years afterwards, and there is no longer any mention of a common meal in the usual sense. It remains probable that in the post-Apostolic order described by Pliny we have the continuance of the Apostolic practice. And the two meetings are supported by the difficulty of supposing that time could have been found at one and the same sederunt both for the Lord's Supper, as described in 1 Cor. xi., and for the number of deliverances and addresses implied in chap. xiv. Besides the assembly differed wholly in character in these two cases.

This conjecture is further confirmed by the language used by the Apostle (1 Cor. xi. 33 and xiv. 26) when speaking of the meetings. He says in the former passage: 'when you come together to eat, *εἰς τὸ φαγεῖν*.' He could only express himself thus if the meal was the whole object of the meeting. In the latter he says correspondingly: 'when you come together, each one has a psalm, a teaching,' etc. 'Let all things however be done unto edifying.' In this list of different yet allied matters the object of the meeting is again stated exhaustively. Hence it follows that there existed side by side two kinds of meetings for different purposes.

Our conclusion is confirmed by the possibility of unbelievers being present in the one meeting, a contingency absolutely inapplicable to that for the Lord's Supper. First it is assumed (1 Cor. xiv. 16-19) that during the speaking with tongues an *ἰδιώτης* would be present; and that in a place definitely assigned to him. Now the Idiotes was not an unbeliever; on the contrary he was expected to join in the Amen. We might take him to have been any one who only took part passively in the kind of address being delivered at the time, because he did not possess that particular spiritual gift. But he was more probably, according to the language applied to Greek associations for worship, one who while he adhered to the congregation had not yet joined it, and in that case was still unbaptized. Even this position excluded him from participation in the Church's meal; and if

there was only one meeting we would require to suppose that such listeners had to leave before the meal was taken, a supposition which xi. 33 makes highly improbable. This applies still more strongly in the case of the unbelievers, or out and out unchristian, who are also supposed capable of entering the meeting (xiv. 23 f.). They are classed with the Idiotae in that the only impression that could be produced upon them by the unintelligible speaking with tongues of a whole congregation was that the members were mad, while, on the other hand, neither class could fail to experience a deep moral influence from the rational speech of the prophets. Accordingly, not only could adherents enter the meetings where prophecy and speaking with tongues were practised, but even men who were entirely outside the pale of the Church. But they cannot possibly have taken part in the meal (see x. 16 ff., xi. 20 f.), and at that there were certainly no spectators present.

Both kinds of meetings may, however, have taken place on the same day. That particular days were appointed for them can be inferred from the fact that the meeting is always regarded as of special and not of everyday occurrence. Now in the Apocalypse (i. 10) the day of the Lord is not only defined as the day of the vision, but clearly also as that of Divine service. Again, in 1 Cor. xvi. 2, believers are told to lay past on the first day of the week for the fund for the saints, not merely to keep the money in their own hands, but to hand it over, that it might not be necessary to begin collecting on the Apostle's arrival; and it is most probable that this was done at a meeting, and that the day named had already been adopted in Corinth as that of divine service.

§ 3. *Baptism.*

Baptism comes under the head of the meetings, not because it was administered at them, but because it was a condition of full participation in them. From all our authorities, especially Paul, there can be no doubt that it was practised from an early

date in the Apostolic period. And we also know that, like the baptism of Jewish proselytes and that of John, it signified the purification which formed the condition of union with Jesus and His Church.

On the other hand, it cannot be proved that the rite takes us back to Jesus Himself. Jesus found the baptism of John in existence, and in His first adherents He also inherited to some extent the results of His predecessor's work. The Synoptic Gospels at least do not show that He Himself established the practice. They make Him express Himself to the last in terms of approval of John's baptism (Matt., xxi. 25; Mark, xi. 30; Luke, xx. 4). It is said of Jesus at the outset that He would not baptize with water like John, but with the Holy Spirit, or with the Holy Spirit and with fire (Matt., iii. 11; Luke, iii. 16; Mark, i. 8; Acts, i. 5, xi. 16). And it is afterwards stated that a baptism through sufferings awaited His disciples (Mark, x. 38 f.; Luke xii. 50). There is not a word here of any symbolical act, like John's baptism, either in the case of the baptism with the Holy Spirit or of that with fire; and it makes no difference whether we understand by the latter the judgment, or see in it an allusion to the flash of light which according to the Gospel of the Ebionites accompanied Jesus' baptism by John. We can account for Jesus' failure to baptize by assuming that He had no desire as yet to found an exclusive society. It is only in the latest portions of the Synoptic Gospels that the rite of Christian baptism is referred to a command of Jesus, and, in fact, to one made after the resurrection (Matt., xxviii. 19; Mark, xvi. 16). In later times there was a difference of opinion as to whether Jesus baptized Himself, or by deputy; John's Gospel first makes Him baptize beside the Baptist (iii. 22, 26), but this is afterwards corrected (iv. 2) to the effect that He did not do so Himself, but only caused it to be done by His disciples. From this it is clear that the later Christians felt themselves impelled to trace the Apostolic practice as far as possible to Jesus. How it arose in the earliest period can no longer be determined. In any case, however, it emanated from the

primitive Church. For the rest, we are entirely dependent upon the description of the practice in Paul.

Paul speaks of baptism in various connections (Rom. vi. 3-5; 1 Cor. i. 13-17, x. 2, xii. 13, xv. 29; Gal. iii. 27 f.). It is clear from 1 Cor. xii. 13 and Gal. iii. 27 f. that it denoted reception into the Church; the baptized were from that time members of the body of Christ and brethren; all social distinctions were at an end for them. The higher aspect and reason of this was (Rom. vi. 3-5) that they had yielded themselves to Christ; and the effect of His death and resurrection, as was expressed by the symbolical act, now extended to them. That act itself consisted in submersion (Rom. vi. 4). We cannot exactly learn what words were used. The Apostle says (1 Cor. i. 13; cf. Gal. iii. 27), that they were baptized into the name of Christ, εἰς τὸ ὄνομα; this means first that they were dedicated to Christ, as the Israelites were dedicated to Moses (1 Cor. x. 2); but for that very reason we must conclude that this was expressed in words. Further, the same thing is implied in the parallel phrase (xii. 13), viz., that the baptized was led to the Church, εἰς ἓν σῶμα. It cannot be denied that this also may have been expressed in words; it may, however, have been included in the 'name of Christ.' The whole significance imputed to the act is revealed by a custom mentioned by Paul (1 Cor. xv. 29) and plainly homologated by him, one therefore which cannot well be regarded as peculiar to the Corinthian Church: namely, that members of the Church received baptism for those who had died. This substitution could only be made use of in cases where the dead man had adhered to the Gospel while in life. But it appeared necessary because he could only in this way have an interest in Christ at the resurrection. On the other hand, the baptism of children is probably precluded by the view (1 Cor. vii. 14) that the children of Christians were sanctified as such. Baptism is combined with the Lord's Supper (1 Cor. x. 1-4) by the typical application to both of the guidance of Israel through the sea and desert; together they established Christ's right to His own and their claim upon Him.

On the other hand, Paul knows nothing of a communication of the Spirit in baptism by definite individuals specially qualified. Otherwise he could not have spoken with satisfaction, as in 1 Cor. i. 14-17, of having baptized only a few people in Corinth, and of not regarding baptism as part of his Apostolic duties. It is obvious from this how remote already is the description of the Book of Acts which represents baptism as being completed by the imposition of hands, as imparting the Holy Spirit, and as being performed by the Apostles. Thus it is administered by Peter (viii. 17 ff.) and by Paul himself (xix. 2-6). For the rest, the same book makes it throughout denote entrance into the Church (ii. 38, 41, viii. 12, 13, 16, 38, ix. 18, x. 47, 48, xvi. 15, 33, xviii. 8, xix. 5 (xxii. 16)), and defines it as baptism into the name of Christ (εἰς viii. 16, xix. 5), but also on or concerning the name of Jesus Christ (ἐπὶ τῷ—ii. 38), and in it, by it (ἐν, x. 48). In the same period the formula was already in use: Into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit (Matt. xxviii. 19), a formula explained in 2 Cor. xiii. 13.

SECTION II.—THE MEETING FOR THE WORD

§ 1. *Order.*

For the earlier period the Acts gives us the idea that the Apostles alone took charge of the word of the Lord in the Church (ii. 42, vi. 2-4), and with this it combines prayer. But it also starts with the view that the Spirit had been imparted to all the members, and it shows us traces of the prophecy existent in the Church from the first. Hence it is impossible to think of the addresses or communications having been delivered exclusively by particular individuals or classes. But further, the Jews had been familiarised by the synagogue with a different practice; for in it any one at all might speak who was able. A change is conceivable in this respect in heathen countries, at least at first, the members of the Church being there without the necessary

knowledge, and therefore much more dependent on their Apostles. But, on the other hand, national characteristics and tendencies were calculated to lead to the same general participation in this part of the service. And that they did we learn unequivocally from Paul.

In 1 Cor. Paul deals principally with those congregational outpourings which, under a craving at least to some extent morbid, were most strongly cultivated in that Church and had actually resulted in excesses. First he treats of the speaking with tongues, and then of prophecy. Finally he finds himself led to lay down regulations which, while they referred in the first place to these two forms of utterance, applied to the order to be observed at the meetings in general, and afford an insight into all that occurred at them (xiv. 26-36).

'When you come together,' he begins, 'you have either a psalm, a teaching, a revelation, a tongue, or an exposition; let all things be done unto edifying.' He meant, doubtless, that the different kinds of addresses here enumerated came from the Church itself, that they emanated from any of the members, and that the latter were perfectly independent, speaking entirely on their own impulse. For the rest, they came to the meeting as a rule with their minds made up and fully prepared; for the Apostle does not speak of one member being generally qualified for one kind of utterance, another for another. What he means is that they came provided with their contribution to the particular service, a statement which does not exclude the assumption that besides those who brought a revelation there were others who only received theirs at the meeting. Just because the addresses were brought, there existed the desire to come to the front which caused the Apostle to exhort the Church to do everything in the way that would tend to edification. As matters then stood this rule was not observed, at least in speaking with tongues and prophesy. Too many strove to take a part; the one would not wait until the other had finished, nor would a speaker give way to a member who intimated his desire to speak. To this the

regulations refer. Those who spoke with tongues were to come forward two or three at a time, and that in turn. So also the prophets were to present themselves in twos or threes; but if any other had then a revelation, the previous speaker was to stop and let him declare it. Each class required a rule for itself; the speakers with tongues were not to be permitted to appear unless an interpreter was present; and the prophets were to have their message tested. With reference to prophecy the Apostle further observes that all could wait and take part in it in turn; and again that this restraint was practicable, since the spirit of the prophet was under the control of the prophet. The last addition to these instructions consists in the command that the women were not to speak at the meeting. We see from xi. 5 that women also prophesied; this was not, however, to occur at the congregational meetings. For the rest it appears from the instructions that the members of the congregation sat; he who wished to speak stood up.

The abuses here discussed would not have been possible unless the rising and delivery of addresses had been perfectly uncontrolled. We must not regard this custom as in itself an instance of degeneracy, or even as a peculiarity of the Corinthian Church. On the contrary, the regulations of the Apostle confirm the custom in its fundamental features, and it is specially significant that he presents the appearance of all the members in the capacity of prophets as a thing to be aimed at. But what he says was not meant for this Church alone; these rules were to apply everywhere. At one point, the reference to the women question, he appeals expressly to the general practice of the Churches (xi. 16, xiv. 33, 36). Now, the Apostle's instructions certainly applied merely to the speaking with tongues and prophecy; in them the excesses existed. But the voluntary character of the addresses extended also to the rest. For the statement that all brought their contribution to the meeting is made quite generally as something taken for granted; they came provided with psalms and lessons as well as with tongues and revelations; and there was

no distinction made—every member of the Church had his part. Hence these meetings were wholly designed for the exchange of spiritual benefit, and therefore were dependent on the free participation of members. The ideal basis of this practice consisted in the *Charismata*, the specialised gifts of the Divine Spirit (cf. 1 Cor. xii. 4-11, 27-30; Rom. xii. 6, 7), which yet constituted the Church as the body of Christ through the unity of the Spirit. An unrestricted intercourse like this of all with all would have been inconceivable without such a spiritual life, wholly extraordinary in its nature. Even as it was, it called for the exhortation to self-restraint and harmony (1 Cor. xii. 11 ff.), and rendered certain rules necessary for the outward order. Nay, the question arose whether every utterance really sprang from the Spirit of God. And the confession of Jesus necessarily reassured them, since they were convinced that no one could come to call Him Lord without that Spirit (xii. 3).

§ 2. *Prayer*

If we are to suppose that the above cited assurance had a definite reference, then the conjecture is natural that it applied to a regular act, that the speaker either himself began by invoking Jesus as κύριος, or at least took part in an invocation by the Church; and this would imply a confession uttered at the beginning of the whole service. In the meantime, nothing more definite is to be known on the subject.

We have comparatively little information as to the first kind of utterance mentioned by Paul (1 Cor. xiv. 26), namely, prayer. The προσευχαί are included in the characteristics of the Christians in Acts ii. 42. We may say that this was more a matter of course than any of the others. Paul mentions the man of prayer next the man of prophecy (1 Cor. xi. 4); in xiv. 15 he sets intelligible prayer in the Church side by side with the pneumatic speaking with tongues. In Rom. xii. 12 he calls upon the Church as a Church to 'continue steadfastly in prayer.' In certain cases (*e.g.* Rom. xv. 30; 2 Cor. i. 11, ix. 12-14), he speaks in such a way of

the treatment of a subject in prayer that we can only refer his words to the common prayers of the congregation. Some of the passages quoted (*e.g.* 1 Cor. xi. 4) imply that prayer in Church was not a duty restricted to individuals, but could be offered by any member, in conformity with the practice followed in the synagogue. We may conclude from 1 Cor. xiv. 26 that it was the first part of the service; this precedence is all the more significant, since those first-named forms were not the subject of any special commands. The meeting therefore began with the call to prayer; and any one or more might pray who offered themselves. This part of the service, therefore, was as a rule voluntary, like all the other utterances, and being voluntary and unfettered it was the more likely to refer to the current concerns of the Church.

It is surprising that apart from the First and Third Gospels we have no trace of any use of the Lord's Prayer. Yet everything is in favour of its composition by Jesus and of its use in the earliest Church. As preserved in the text of both Gospels, especially the First, its whole character is that of being the Lord's own words. The divergences in Luke's text—the prayer for the coming of the Spirit instead of the kingdom, the appeal of the believer to his forgiving instead of his having forgiven—may be regarded as actual changes by a second hand, but then they only serve to prove the antiquity of the original; the rest are simply abbreviations. We may perhaps conclude from the insertion of the instruction how to pray, in Matt. vi. 9—a passage certainly not belonging to the older tradition of the section—that it was at first employed by the Christians, not in congregational, but in private prayer. As its use then became customary in the meetings, it was natural that the prayer for the kingdom should be altered into one for the Spirit—a change, however, which did not prevail. And still later, the public use led to the doxology being added at the close. Paul nowhere mentions the Lord's Prayer. But we may assume that we have a trace of it in Rom. viii. 15; Gal. iv. 6. In speaking of the right to call God Father, he gives the Aramaic form for father, in each instance adding a translation; and this is only to be ex-

plained by supposing that he had in mind a formula which was known wherever the Gospel had penetrated, and which, by preserving the original language, invested the name with peculiar solemnity, in order to maintain its significance unimpaired in the believer's consciousness.

To prayer offered at the meeting the Apostle (1 Cor. xiv. 26) gives the name of 'the psalm.' He did not mean by this the recitation of one of the Old Testament psalms, but an original one which the speaker not only recited, but himself produced, or, at any rate, made known. This leads us to the conclusion that the prayer in question was chiefly one of thanksgiving and praise. It was so, at all events, when no special anxiety of the Church was suggested as a subject of supplication. It was what the members had to say to each other in the congregation, the parts of the service to which they had to invite each other, or in which they had to join, that represented the grace of God as a living possession. Even the treatment of supplication in Matt. xviii. 19 points rather to the use of this form of prayer in a limited circle. For the rest, it is to be observed that (1 Cor. xiv. 14, 15) both kinds of prayer, supplication and praise, προσεύχεσθαι and ψάλλειν, are contrasted as intelligible utterances, and that in congregational use, with the speaking with tongues. Both were therefore employed, and if the ψαλμὸς is alone mentioned in xiv. 26, the only inference to be drawn is that it was as a rule the most prominent.

Specimens of these psalms are not entirely awanting; we have some in the Apocalypse and in Luke's Gospel. The hymns which occur in these books show in any case the style and spirit of poetry; some of them were probably merely adopted, having come down from an earlier period; they cannot, therefore, be implicitly attributed even in the Apocalypse to the text of the book, or consequently be employed at once in appraising the thoughts contained in it. Nor is it at all necessary to suppose that the psalm brought (1 Cor. xiv. 26) by a member into the Church was in every case a new and original composition; it is more probable that such poems soon became subjects of tradition.

Among the songs, the ᾠδαί, given in the Apocalypse, we must distinguish between those which are related by their contents to the definite prophecy—and therefore also to its date—and those which, the contents being of a general nature, may be traditional. To the former class belongs especially the song of the fall of the great harlot (chap. xviii.), but also the nuptial ode of the Lamb (xix. 1-8), and the triumphal chant of the twenty-four elders in heaven (xi. 17 f.). These refer more or less to contemporary events, and were therefore composed in the midst, or in immediate expectation, of them; or they were originally parts of a prophecy which could be employed in their present place, like the song of the fall of the dragon (xii. 10-12).

It is otherwise with the short songs received into the introduction to the visions, songs which make a reference to what passes in the vision only at one place, namely, v. 9, where there is an allusion to the opening of the book with the seven seals, while apart from this their whole character is that of general hymns sung in praise of God and of the Lamb Christ. Besides, the above mentioned reference can be easily eliminated. The separate short songs, however, fit into one another like strophes of a complete ode. The twenty-four elders first sing before the throne of God (iv. 11):—

> Worthy art thou, O Lord, our God,
> To receive glory, honour, and power,
> For thou didst create all things,
> And because of thy will they are and were created.

Then the four Cherubim and again the twenty-four elders on seeing the book and the Lamb (v. 9, 10):—

> Worthy art thou to take the book,
> And to open the seals thereof;
> For thou wast slain, and didst purchase for God with thy blood
> Men of every tribe and tongue and people and nation,
> And madest them to be unto our God a kingdom and priests,
> And they shall reign upon the earth.

Thereupon all the inhabitants of heaven respond (v. 12):—

> Worthy is the Lamb that hath been slain,
> To receive power, wisdom, might, honour, praise, and blessing.

And finally all creatures sing (v. 13):—

To Him who sits upon the throne,
And to the Lamb,
Blessing, honour, praise, and might,
Unto the ages of all ages.

Of a similarly general character is also the song of the conquerors in the fight with the beast, a hymn described as the song of Moses, the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb (xv. 3 f.):—

Great and marvellous are thy works,
O Lord God, the Almighty,
Righteous and true are thy ways,
O King of Nations.
Who shall not fear thee, Lord, and praise thy name?
For thou alone art holy;
All nations come and worship thee;
Thy judgments have become manifest.

Among the songs inserted in the prophecy the one in xi. 17 f. is allied to those preceding:—

We give thee thanks, Lord God Almighty,
Which art and wast,
Because thou hast taken thy great power,
And entered upon thy reign.
And the nations were wroth,
Then came thy day of wrath,
The time of the dead, to be judged,
To give their reward to thy servants,
To the prophets and to the saints,
And to those who fear thy name,
To destroy small and great,
Who destroy the earth.

Three specimens are preserved by the Third Gospel of the psalms of the Christians belonging to the Apostolic Age—the songs of Mary, Zacharias, and Simeon. All bear the impress of their Jewish Christian origin; redemption consists in the visitation of Israel; and the poor of the nation are comforted. These are imitated from the poems contained in the Old Testament, and the practice was probably continued among the Gentile Christians. The leading note in the psalm was the praise of God; that was the spirit that reigned in the congregation. Amid sore toil and

affliction the feeling of gratitude, certainty of triumph, and confidence in the future prevailed. Hence we find what Pliny had to report: *Carmenque Christo quasi Deo dicere secum invicem.*

§ 3. *Instruction*

In the list of congregational utterances of 1 Cor. xiv. 26, the prayer or psalm is followed by the διδαχὴ, or lecture, and we may infer from the order in which they are given that the teaching followed the prayer at the meeting. The term gives of itself no definite idea of the contents and form of the teaching; and we must begin by taking into account the mention of the λόγος σοφίας and λόγος γνώσεως in the enumeration of spiritual gifts in 1 Cor. xii. 8. As nothing is said of the διδαχὴ, the conjecture is at least probable that we are entitled to regard it as including the above forms of address. And this is corroborated by the fact that in 1 Cor. xiv. 6 the διδαχὴ is plainly related to the γνῶσις, its contents, in the same way as προφητεία to ἀποκάλυψις. The lecture, therefore, embraced different forms of instruction, we may say virtually any form, with the single exception of prophecy. The latter was always given in addition to the teaching as a special kind of address. This appears not merely from the passages quoted, xiv. 6 and 26—only instead of prophecy its subject-matter ἀποκάλυψις is mentioned—but also in the διδάσκαλοι being reckoned after the προφῆται as exercising a different ministry (xii. 28; Rom. xii. 6, 7).

On the other hand, it cannot be denied that διδάσκειν is also used in certain cases in a narrower sense. Paul says of Timothy, in 1 Cor. iv. 17, 'he will remind you of all my rules in Christ Jesus, even as I teach everywhere in all the Churches.' The teaching here refers to use and wont, the ὁδοὶ are the corresponding commandments; it was accordingly the Halacha, defined as Christian by the phrase 'in Christ Jesus.' We find the teaching expressed again by the term παραδόσεις, given by the Apostle to the Church whose members he praises for having kept them

(1 Cor. xi. 2). Paul also uses the word παραγγελίαι (1 Thess. iv. 2) in reference to his instructions in that Church. We may also, without doubt, refer here to Pliny's statement to Trajan in the Post-Apostolic Age: *Seque sacramento non in scelus aliquod obstringere sed ne furta . . . committerent;* for the *sacramentum* could only be the binding teaching of the Church.

It is more difficult to define and distinguish the two kinds of teaching termed by Paul λόγος σοφίας and λόγος γνώσεως. Beginning with the former, the word of wisdom, we have first to notice that wisdom is a general idea, holding a place both in the heathen world and in Christian life. And, as in the latter case it is based upon the wisdom of God Himself, so in the former it rests upon that of the demons, the fallen rulers of the world (1 Cor. ii. 6, i. 20, iii. 19 (i. 19)). From them emanated the false art of wisdom, which Paul designates as human (ii. 13), and fleshly (2 Cor. i. 12), and which is always contrasted with the Divine nature of the Spirit, and the simple truth. The Greeks asked for this wisdom, when they heard of the Gospel. Its intrusion constituted a danger to the Christian Church (1 Cor. iii. 18-20). Paul for himself disavowed all connection with its dazzling arts (ii. 4). In doing so he was evidently thinking of philosophy and rhetoric, in short the whole of Greek culture, and his denunciation of that culture was made from the point of view of its religious and moral results, or because in knowledge it did not get beyond the world, and in its objects rose no higher than the flesh, its aims being material and selfish. Therefore it was to him foolishness; yet it possessed the form of wisdom, and had for that reason emanated from those superhuman powers.

Now, in contrast with this, Divine wisdom was the starting-point, type, and source of the true wisdom for men. By the wisdom of God, however, Paul understood the Divine conception of the world, and that in its widest sense. It embraced the creation (1 Cor. i. 21) as well as the plan of redemption (ii. 6, 7; cf. Rom. xi. 33); and the true wisdom for men consisted therefore in the knowledge of this Divine wisdom, and in conduct regulated by

aims in harmony with it (1 Cor. ii. 7, vi. 5, xii. 8). The word of wisdom, therefore, had to embrace both the comprehension of the world's progress and of God's purposes in it, and the regulation of human life. It was at once theoretical and practical; its form was always determined by the intelligent thought which inquires into the connection of things and seeks to account for them, combining the many into a unity, and moulding its material in accordance with its ends. Consistently with this we meet with a special use of the term wisdom in the Apocalypse (xiii. 18, xvii. 9). It is applied there to the art of interpreting a mysterious symbol, and of ascertaining a name from a number by counting the numerical values of the letters composing it. There is no example of this rabbinical artifice in Paul; but the artificial explanation of the Holy Scriptures was employed by him to a large extent (cf. 1 Cor. ix. 9, x. 11; Gal. iii. 16, iv. 24), and the numerical artifice was neither more nor less than a further development of the same practice. Even in this instance wisdom consisted in the knowledge of the hidden relationship of things which had been appointed by God and was revealed as a mystery. It is not going too far, therefore, to conclude that Paul also comprehended under the 'word of wisdom' both the exposition of Holy Scriptures and the determination of the hidden meaning contained in them.

In any case the essential nature of 'the word of wisdom' lay in the rational reflection that shaped it. This is the only safe starting-point from which to get an idea of the distinction in Paul's mind when he combined the λόγος σοφίας and the λόγος γνώσεως, 'the word of wisdom and the word of knowledge.' In contrast with rational thought the essential character of Gnosis consisted in intuition. And as, in the former, man's wisdom was based on the pattern of God's, and on the conscious thinking out of the divine thoughts, so Gnosis consisted in an illumination by the Spirit of God, and an immediate relation to that spirit which gave itself wholly into the possession of man. 1 Cor. ii. 9-16 must be regarded as conclusive for this view as to the nature of Gnosis. In this passage the Apostle proceeds or rather reverts from σοφία

τὸ γνῶσις. The Divine wisdom was hidden from those who did not receive and recognise the inner blessings which it imparted. That blessing could only be revealed, could only be given by the Spirit of God Himself. It was with God as with man: none knew what was in His mind save Himself. But the Divine consciousness was transferred to man by the entrance of the Divine Spirit. And thus an immediate intuition formed the basis of Christian knowledge, which was therefore shown to be incommunicable beyond that circle in which the same conditions existed. It is also evident from this, however, that we must assume God and the Divine thoughts to have been the chief subjects of the Gnosis and of the lecture upon it. But in that case the latter must also have dealt with the nature of Christ (2 Cor. ii. 14, iv. 6). In the second of these passages the connection is clear; God Himself shone in believers, 'to give the illumination of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ.' Since this glory of God was the nature of Christ, the latter could only be known by intuition, accordingly by an illumination, in other words, 'a shining of God.' What is said of Gnosis in 2 Cor. x. 5, xi. 6, points to the same immediateness of the intuition. And the doctrine that the knowledge of God consisted in His self-consciousness in believers underlies the words (Gal. iv. 9): 'but now since you have known God, or rather, are known by Him;' while Phil. iii. 8 refers to the whole power of the immediate intuition in the knowledge of Christ. The application of the conception of γνῶσις to the recognition of the nothingness of the gods and to its practical consequences (1 Cor. viii. 1 f.) is no guide to the Apostle's use of the term. In this passage he is only reporting what the idolaters in Corinth said of themselves. We can only infer from it that γνῶσις was always the equivalent for the higher knowledge.

These distinctions in the lectures were developed, and, so far as we can see, introduced by the Apostle Paul. Yet they were involved in the nature of the case; and the teaching was, without doubt, characterised by this manysidedness, wherever there was a corresponding fulness in the spiritual life. On the other hand,

the lines that divided these different forms were in reality far from being stereotyped even for Paul. Some passages in his letters very plainly bring a definite form before us; thus Rom. viii. undoubtedly belongs to Gnosis, as, conversely, Rom. i. 18 ff. to 'the word of wisdom.' But in reflections like those contained in the great section, Rom. ix.–xi., the λόγος σοφίας is represented as well as the λόγος γνώσεως. Yet, in actual experience the predominance of rational and scholarly reflection on the one hand, and of intuitive perception on the other, may have imparted and clearly marked the distinctive character of the gifts possessed by different individuals. But the dividing line was apt to fade away on another side. At certain points both forms of reflection necessarily touched on and passed into prophecy.

§ 4. *Prophecy*

The didactic address was followed, according to 1 Cor. xiv. 32, by the recital of revelations, *i.e.*, as ver. 29 shows us, on the part of the prophets. There was also the greatest affinity between these two parts of the service. Though sprung from different sources, their objects were similar; and the form of the prophecy so far corresponded to that of the lecture, that in Paul's conception of it at least, the prophet remained master of his thoughts (1 Cor. xiv. 32). We were able to prove, even in the history of the primitive Church, that the gift and exercise of prophecy were from first to last features, and prominent features, of the Apostolic community. Starting with certain narratives of the Acts and indications in the Synoptic Gospels, we can trace its existence down through the Pauline Churches in Thessalonica, Galatia, and Corinth, and in the non-Pauline Church of Rome, until we come to the Apocalypse with its wealth of prophecy. The importance of prophecy in actual life is best exemplified in the instance of Paul himself; at the most critical moments in his labours he appealed to revelations he had just received. So also we learn from him that in the dispute as to the true Gospel and the genuine apostolate

the appeal had been to 'visions and revelations of the Lord.' All this proves that the prophetic gift existed, and that individuals were endowed with it; to the latter Paul refers (1 Cor. xii. 28) when, in enumerating the offices in the Church, he names the prophets between the Apostles and the teachers. But a wholly different idea is suggested by 1 Cor. xiv. 26, where the address of the prophets is mentioned as a regular part of the congregational exercises. Hence it is at once obvious that prophecy was not the prerogative of a few selected individuals. And this inference agrees with the fact that Paul (xiv. 5) could express his desire that all might prophesy, and that (xiv. 1, 39) he calls upon every one to strive to exercise the gift. It is certainly impossible to conceive of its forming part of the service unless on the above supposition. However much we attribute to the peculiar conditions existing in Corinth, it merely affects the extent of the observance, not the rule itself.

The context of 1 Cor. xiv. 26, 29, indicates that the predictions of the prophet rested on an *ἀποκάλυψις*; he might have received the revelation before entering the congregation, and in that case he only now imparted it. But it might come upon him unexpectedly while he sat in the meeting (ver. 30), in which case the recipient was at once to communicate it. The same connection between *ἀποκάλυψις* and *προφητεία* underlies xiv. 6. Prophecy without the reception of a revelation there was none. The idea of revelation implied that the prophet did not arrive at his subject-matter, as in the case of wisdom, by his own thought, observation, and inference; but, on the other hand, it did not involve an intuitive perception of the highest truths only attributable to the operations of the Divine Spirit in man, the inspiration that underlay the Gnosis. Above all, the revelation invariably applied to a single subject; and as the mind obtained its knowledge by itself and without any intermediate steps, the thinker supposed the truth to have been presented to him at the moment. Hence its effect upon him was that of sense perception. The prophet first heard what he told: a voice had spoken to him. This hearing was

essential — seeing was not; the words might or might not be accompanied by a vision; and Paul therefore (2 Cor. xii. 1) combines visions and revelations of the Lord.

Revelation and prophecy were produced by the Divine Spirit (1 Cor. xii. 10). He who received the revelation was in the Spirit (Rev. i. 10). Their origin was traced back to Christ (Rev. i. 2); and Paul also speaks in this sense of the ἀποκαλύψεις Χριστοῦ (2 Cor. xii. 1). Paul, moreover, does not merely think of prophecy as a gift of the Spirit; it was a special spirit in each prophet: and we have therefore not only a spirit of prophecy, but spirits of the prophets (1 Cor. xiv. 32, xii. 10), just as we find the different kinds of gifts called spirits (xiv. 12). The entrance of the Spirit was not in itself subject to the control of man, the revelation took possession of him; and what he said came from the Spirit. But the very fact that he heard and saw something showed that he had not lost consciousness; he still retained it in distinguishing from his own thoughts and adopting what had been imparted to him. This continuance of consciousness is expressed by Paul as distinctly as possible; for it determined the difference between prophecy and speaking with tongues, and established the edifying character of the former, the possibility of imparting it (xiv. 3, 6, 24). And revelations which, like those described by Paul in 2 Cor. xii. 2-4, are associated with a state of rapture are only apparently exceptions to the above rule. In saying that he did not know whether he was in or out of the body when he was borne to the third heaven, or in the other instance into paradise, he does not regard his consciousness as having been suspended; that is proved by his remembering the vision. He only thinks of it as having been so far restricted, that the power of the visions took full possession of his mind, and deprived him of bodily feeling. The Apocalypse shows us accordingly in a variety of forms how this rapture sometimes alternated, sometimes was combined, with the simple vision. For the rest, not only was consciousness retained during the revelation, but the will possessed a certain power. The subordination of the spirits of the prophets to the prophets

(1 Cor. xiv. 32) means that it was in the power of the latter to cut short, not the address merely, but the revelation itself; they could therefore throw off their receptive condition at will. And the Apostle could not have bidden the members of the Church to strive after prophecy, if it had not been to some extent in their power to enter into that condition, in other words, to make themselves susceptible.

As regards their subjects, the revelations covered a very wide field. We see from the instance and narratives of the Apostle Paul, that at the very first the resurrection of Jesus Christ was proved by revelations. Accordingly they dealt chiefly with the return, the expected appearing of Christ, and everything that had the most remote connection with it in the shape of preparation, associations, and consequences. Paul himself gives us an example of this in 1 Cor. xv. 23-28. The subjects are especially indicated by the apocalyptic discourses in the Gospel, with their many-sided development of the germs given in the words of our Lord. And the Apocalypse has preserved for us a complete picture of the prophetic work of the Church. The expectation dominated the whole life so thoroughly that, in connection with it, everything, all that was important in contemporary history, with all that was experienced at home and abroad, could or did become a subject of revelation. Another class of subjects was furnished, according to the example given by Paul (2 Cor. xii. 2 ff.), by heavenly things, the divisions of the invisible world, its inhabitants, and what went on in it. So also we must conclude from 1 Cor. xiv. 24, that the prophet obtained revelations as to the spiritual life of other men, and his words, therefore, were a means of exhorting and comforting, and, in short, of edifying the Church (xiv. 3). Finally, revelations played a part in the active life not only of the Church, but of the recipient himself. Paul's actions were determined, at important crises, by those he received: he himself tells us of one on his second journey to Jerusalem, and the eyewitness of another while on his way as a prisoner to Rome. We may, however, assume all that we learn from and regarding Paul to have applied generally.

His statements are confirmed by the Apocalypse, and by the traditions in the Acts, as *e.g.*, the narratives of the prophet Agabus (xi. 28, xxi. 10 ff.), of the prophets in Antioch (xiii. 1 ff. and xv. 32), and again of Paul himself (xvi. 6 f.).

The prophetic utterance took the form, as a rule, of an address pure and simple. But the narrative of Agabus (Acts xxi. 10 f.; cf. John xxi. 18) shows that in special cases the prophets made use of symbols to convey their thoughts, after the pattern of the ancient prophets. The special rules of order, given by Paul (1 Cor. xiv. 26 ff.) for the meeting, included prophecy, and were intended to confine it within bounds. As a rule only two or three were to come forward at one diet (ver. 29). Provision is made for the case of a member of the Church receiving a revelation during the service; in that case 'the first,' *i.e.*, the one who was speaking at the time was to give way and to 'hold his peace,' a rule which could only mean that he was not to continue longer than was necessary (ver. 30). At the same time, Paul points out that 'all would have a chance of speaking in their turn at the meetings;' and he adds the purpose of this, viz., 'that all should learn and be exhorted'—it being implied that the special wants of the different hearers would be met by the variety in the addresses (ver. 31). Along with these rules of order we have the injunction that after the two or three prophets had spoken, the rest of the members were to pronounce their verdict on what had been said. The prophesyings were accordingly subject to examination. This did not first become a custom in Corinth, nor was the rule made for that Church: Paul had already told the Thessalonians 'to examine all things' (1 Thess. v. 21), after he had exhorted them not 'to quench the Spirit or to despise prophesyings.' It was therefore necessary even there to guard against both the abuse of prophecy and its consequent depreciation. In Corinth this discussion was a standing usage designed to discriminate prophecy or the spirits, *διάκρισις πνευμάτων* (1 Cor. xii. 10), and the necessary qualification formed a special gift of the Spirit over and above prophecy itself. It may be inferred from 1 Cor. xii. 3 (cf. iii. 12)

that the criticism dealt not only with the value but even with the origin of prophecy, that accordingly it was supposed that the latter might be inspired by an evil spirit. Criticism was therefore necessary as well as production. Rom. xii. 6 shows us the general standard of criticism: it was the ἀναλογία τῆς πίστεως; the prophecy required to agree with the settled doctrines of the faith. Moreover, this additional gift served not merely as a corrective: it carried out the general reciprocity characteristic of congregational exercises. The Apocalypse shows us that, in the subsequent history of the Apostolic Age, prophecies were transcribed either before or after delivery; and, further, that the living prophecy of the earlier period had gradually fallen into the grooves of the artificial apocalypses of later Judaism. Yet even in this stage the distinctive spirit and the nobility of conception of the Christian faith were preserved.

§ 5. *The Speaking with Tongues*

We need not inquire further into the nature of prophecy. It is different with the γλώσσαις λαλεῖν or the γένη γλωσσῶν. The latter expression designates a particular gift of the Spirit (1 Cor. xii. 10), the former its exercise (xii. 30, xiv. 23).

Our whole knowledge of this phenomenon is obtained from its discussion in 1 Corinthians. The only other mention of anything similar is in three passages in the Acts. First we have the miracle on the day of Pentecost, but it is there described by the phrase ἑτέραις γλώσσαις λαλεῖν, which the following narrative shows conclusively to refer to the use of languages other than the speaker's own. But the book plainly regards this as a special miracle whose significance centred in the particular moment. For there is and can be no question of foreign languages in the two other places where it tells us of γλώσσαις λαλεῖν (x. 46, xix. 6). The author, writing when he did, had probably no definite ideas on the subject, and this applies still more strongly to other references to it in the second century (cf. Iren. *Haer.* v., vi. 1). The idea of foreign languages is completely precluded in Paul·

by the alternative designation, λαλεῖν γλώσσῃ (1 Cor. xiv. 2, 4, 13, 14, 27); then, further, by the fact that, according to his whole explanation, this form of speech was not meant for others, but was a speaking to God, a kind of prayer; and, lastly, and conclusively, by its comparison, as regards its effect, with talking in an unknown language, with which, therefore, it cannot have been identical. But we may explain it just as little by speech with the tongue in the physical sense; this is at once negatived both by the application of the phrase, γλώσσαις λαλεῖν, to an individual, and by the expression, ἐν γλώσσῃ (xiv. 5, 6, 19). If, however, we try to explain 'the tongue' by 'speaking with the tongue,' we give up the definition of the word, and besides produce a wholly vague idea. Our only resource, therefore, is to regard γλῶσσα and γλῶσσαι as technical terms for a kind of speech distinctive of the spiritual life and distinguished from common speech, just as the Greeks used the same word to define the language of the barbarians.

How this came about is to be explained from the common speech appearing to the exuberant feeling of the new faith unsuitable for intercourse with God. This faith did in fact create a new language. It produced new meanings, forms, and phrases, as is best proved by the Apostle Paul's efforts to grapple with his vocabulary. The speaking with tongues in the Church was only a cruder and more violent attempt due to the same reason. The language of the angels, the language spoken in heaven, was probably in their thoughts (cf. 1 Cor. xiii. 1; 2 Cor. xii. 4). It was only used in prayer (1 Cor. xiv. 2, 14), and therefore looked to an outsider like a soliloquy (ver. 2). The speaker was, however, not only isolated, but he was also in a state of trance, in which he blindly followed the impulse of the Spirit, and lost all power of conscious thought (ver. 14)—so much so, that his own mind, his νοῦς, was absolutely 'without fruit,' remained wholly uninfluenced. The question here is not whether this idea is beset by inconsistencies; all we have to do with is the fact of its existence.

From the nature of the case Paul's instructions and remarks

on this usage fail to give us any clear idea of this kind of speech; even an intentional description would hardly have done so. Nor may we think of a fixed form: the Apostle speaks of γένη γλωσσῶν. We must not, however, imagine its form to have been so barbarous as to have always consisted in the emission of inarticulate sounds. For that effect on outsiders, which alone is more clearly described by the Apostle, it is quite enough to suppose that the speaker expressed himself as a rule disconnectedly and abruptly, in words instead of sentences. There may have been many degrees of fragmentariness short of the sentence, degrees determined by the comparative intensity of the emotion. The kind of feeling must have been perceptible in the utterance; for, if we did not suppose this, the part of the interpreter would be incomprehensible. We have also a clue in the distinction made (xiv. 14-16) between the forms of the prayer, the hymn of praise, and the thanksgiving.

In the first place, the speaking with tongues was unintelligible to others (xiv. 2). It could be compared to the haphazard use of an instrument, a flute, or a zither, producing only confused sounds: to that of a trumpet which gave no clear call (xiv. 7, 8): to speaking to the wind (ver. 9): to the use of a foreign, unknown language (ver. 10, 11). It was still a sign, by virtue of the impression it produced of the marvellous; but only to unbelievers, for it could not lead to the faith, and believers gained nothing by it; in this sense Paul applies to it the prophecy of Isaiah xxviii. 11 f. (ver. 21, 22).

When, accordingly, speaking with tongues was about to be engaged in at the meeting, it was necessary that the speaker should, to make himself effective, add an interpretation (xiv. 5), in one or other of the main forms of teaching (ver. 6), but in any case in an intelligible address, εὔσημος λόγος (ver. 9). In order to obtain power to do this he was to pray (ver. 13). Without it the gift was valueless for his own mind (ver. 14); and nothing that he had experienced in the shape of feeling while in the pneumatic state passed to the rest; the Church had no part in it (ver.

17 ff.). This alliance with a following address, intelligible, edifying, and meant to interpret it, shows the extent to which the consciousness was conceived to be suspended during the utterance itself. The state of mind is to be regarded merely as dreamlike, and some recollection of it was left when it ceased; but this was at once lost, or remained only a vague and worthless vision, unless it was translated at the time into intelligible thought and language. The work of interpretation was not restricted to the speaker himself; it was sometimes taken up by a second party. It was reckoned a gift by itself (xii. 10). It was not dependent, say, on a specially intimate relationship between the two members; but, as is to be seen from xiv. 26 f., he who was an interpreter at all acted generally in that capacity and for different individuals; the question was one of skill in interpretation, irrespective of who the speakers were. And here, again, we have a guide to our idea of the form of the speaking with tongues. From the above it must have imparted impressions sufficiently definite to make this association with a second party at all possible.

It appears from the Apostle's exhortations that this practice was a favourite one in Corinth, that it was passionately pursued, and had become the goal of an ambitious rivalry. The Corinthians did not trouble themselves with exposition, and neglected teaching and prophecy, so that the uninitiated (ἰδιώτης) was no longer even in a position to say Amen at the close (xiv. 16). Believers derived no benefit (ver. 22); and if they imagined a congregation composed wholly of speakers with tongues, and the entrance into it of uninitiated or unbelieving outsiders, they would see that the latter could not fail to think that they had got among madmen (ver. 23). But the Apostle did not therefore attack the exercise itself. He recognised this prayer as a prayer of the Spirit (xiv. 17). It was right for all to be able to speak with tongues (ver. 5): he himself did so more than any (ver. 18). But the highest of spiritual exercises it was not: prophecy held a higher place (xiv. 1, 5). The difference in value was due to the fact that the former served only for self-edification, the latter edified the Church (ver.

5, 28). Intelligible addresses were therefore always to predominate in the meeting (ver. 19). Accordingly, for congregational use Paul prescribes, as in the case of prophecy, the limitation to two, or, at the most, three addresses, and these were not to be delivered pell-mell, but one after the other; and, secondly, he orders the regular assistance of the expositor. If the interpreter was not present, then the speech was to be wholly suppressed (ver. 27, 28). The explanation must follow the speech with tongues as regularly as criticism must succeed prophecy.

The *Glossolalie* is an evidence of the power of spiritual excitement possessed by the new faith, but also of the danger of that excitement deteriorating in the emotional life and the imagination. The wild and unbridled enthusiasm of ancient religious usages was here renewed in Christianity on Greek soil. Paul was conscious that it had got the length of a disease. And yet he had also drawn from the same source in his own inner life. But only in this hidden life of the individual was it justified. The self-control and clearness of thought which Paul never lost led him so to restrict it in the congregation, that even in Corinth it only appears in the background among the expressions of life. The meeting existed for the manifestation of the gifts of the Spirit, but only in so far as they could tend to edification.

§ 6. *The Lectionary*

In giving a place to the public reading of Scriptures in our discussion of the meetings, we mention a subject on which we can only set up conjectures. The books of the Old Testament were regarded in the Apostolic Age as sacred, *γραφαὶ ἅγιαι* (Rom. i. 2), and were called simply *ἡ γραφὴ* (Rom. iv. 3, ix. 17, x. 11; Gal. iii. 8, 22, iv. 30), while a single saying was *ὁ λόγος ὁ γεγραμμένος* (1 Cor. xv. 54). In making quotations Paul sometimes names the book, or the single writing; accordingly the Law of Moses for the whole or the Pentateuch; Law and Prophets for the whole; the Prophets or Isaiah; and David for Psalms. But

he also quotes, like other New Testament writers, with the simple γέγραπται, φησὶν, or λέγει. In the Christian Church, as already among the Jews, to know the sacred writings was not the prerogative of a priestly or learned class, but the duty of every member. Now, since this led among the Jews to the regular reading of Scripture in the synagogue, it is natural to suppose that the custom was continued and became naturalised in the Christian congregation. That we hear nothing of it may be explained from the custom being too simple to give much occasion for divergences and their correction. Yet we must admit that certainty is not to be arrived at in this way. The conjecture is however strengthened by the following considerations.

In the earliest days of the Church unremitting labour was spent on the evidence of Jesus' Messiahship and of the agreement of His history with prophecy. The results of this work were useful not merely for the mission, but for the instruction and confirmation of the Church. In that case, the passages were of course read that they might then be discussed. And the fact is also accounted for that the explanation influenced the quotation of the text, and that a certain free form of it, in harmony with the purpose for which it was quoted, became traditional. We find examples of this in the Gospels; while we can further see in Paul how the gloss had come for him to be an integral part of the text. The most striking instance occurs in 1 Cor. xv. 45.

In one case the first two Gospels unmistakably imply that a prophet was read in Church, for in quoting Dan. ix. 27 they call upon the reader to pay attention, because the subject of Jesus' prediction was now the fulfilment of that saying (Matt. xxiv. 15; Mark xiii. 14). The reading of the Gospel cannot have been meant. The caution did not originate with the authors of the Gospels, but formed an ancient part of this discourse of Jesus.

As regards Paul, the reminiscence in 1 Cor. xv. 1-4 proves that at the earliest date he had told the Corinthians, giving the scriptural proof, of the death and resurrection of Jesus; for this purpose he must have read the Biblical texts. And he could not have

spoken to the Roman Church, as he has done in Rom. i. 2, of the prior announcement of the Gospel in the sacred writings, if he had not been able to assume that the members were familiar with the evidence in support of it. While Paul's manner of quoting this proof in his letters varies in detail, in one respect it is always the same: he does not bring forward passages to verify what he has said, but he states his text, and then draws his conclusions. This corresponds to the practice of reading and then explaining a text. Paul also takes it for granted that his readers possessed a familiarity with Scripture, which could not have arisen from occasional quotations in didactic addresses. He was able to ask his Gentile Christian readers whether they did not know what was written (1 Cor. vi. 16, ix. 13; cf. Rom. vii. 1; Gal. iv. 21). Again, the Law or Holy Scripture was to be their rule, not only in faith, but also in manners and morals (*e.g.* 1 Cor. vi. 16, ix. 8, 13, x. 18, xi. 8, xiv. 21, 34; 2 Cor. vi. 16-18, viii. 15, ix. 9). All this would hardly be conceivable if we did not suppose these Gentile Christians to have been initiated in Scripture through its being read publicly. Besides, Paul sometimes argues from a passage which he does not cite at all (*e.g.* Gal. iii. 16).

In the Apocalypse a part of those heavenly rites, which can be regarded as a type of Divine service, consisted, after the introductory hymn of praise, in the production of a book which it was necessary to open and read (v. 1 ff.).

All these observations make it highly probable that it was customary to read the Scriptures at the meeting, the reading being followed by the didactic address.

This leads up to the question whether, besides the ancient sacred writings, the Gospel, *i.e.* sayings of Jesus and narratives from His life, was even then read publicly; our Gospels are as yet out of the question. But even as regards the evangelic sources the case proves different; for those reports were in any case at first based on oral tradition, which was only gradually committed to writing for use in wider circulation, and by men who were not eyewitnesses but only the disciples of eyewitnesses. Even these

earliest records, however, did not yet possess the character of sacred writings. Their immediate object was to promote the mission, to give the first lessons in the Gospel (cf. further Luke i. 4). They were then quite certainly employed also in the meetings; but their character was still that of reports by contemporaries. The possibility of their becoming sacred writings in their turn was still one of the remote future. Reverence was paid in the Primitive Church not to the writing, as such, but to the matter it contained, because it came from the Lord, or referred to Him. The idea of it being read in the Church as a special rite is thus precluded. But those records were required for teaching, and it was without doubt the lecture by which their contents were imparted to the members. To what extent this was done we can discover once more in Paul. The question is not decided by the number of instances—after all infrequent—in which Paul cites a saying of Jesus (*e.g.* 1 Cor. vii. 10 f., ix. 14; 1 Thess. iv. 13-18), or a fact (*e.g.* 1 Cor. xi. 23), but by the circumstance that those sayings were accepted as the final law for the life of believers, and as giving a conclusive answer on questions of creed. The Church must accordingly have been made familiar with them. Now Paul, in quoting, appeals (1 Cor. xv. 3, and especially xi. 23) to tradition; he had received the sayings — they went back to the Lord Himself—he reported them (*παρέλαβον—ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου—παρέδωκα*); and this received tradition must, especially as regards xi. 23, have been written, as appears from its formular character and its parallels. The earliest evangelic records were therefore made use of in the congregational meeting, not, however, in public reading, but in the lecture; they served for teaching purposes.

While letters from one Church to another, or from an Apostle to a Church, were communicated to the congregation, this cannot be included in the reading as a part of the worship. The fact is obvious from 1 Thess. v. 27; 2 Cor. i. 13 (cf. 1 Cor. v. 9, xvi. 3; 2 Cor. vii. 8, x. 9-11). It is self-evident in the case of the *ἐπιστολαὶ συστατικαὶ* (2 Cor. iii. 1 (viii. 19, 23)). In later times we meet with an exchange of letters (Col. iv. 16). Apostolic letters

were preserved in the Church, and used long afterwards (cf. Clem. Rom. 1 *ad Cor.* 47).

SECTION III.—THE MEETING FOR THE LORD'S SUPPER

§ 1. *The Memorial Celebration*

The meeting for the Lord's Supper was essentially different from the preceding, both in form and purpose. In the latter the Church engaged actively in the work of self-edification by the interchange of spiritual ideas, in the former its attitude was receptive. It took an active part in it, indeed, by its confession, the members thus evincing their will; but their will was accommodated to the acceptance of what the Lord of the Church offered them in His covenant. For, as among Jews and heathens a binding force emanated from the altar and the sacrificial feast, so was it with the table of the Lord (1 Cor. x. 14-22). This meeting was therefore the festival of the Church.

This festival was based, according to Paul (1 Cor. xi. 23) as well as the Synoptic Gospels, on a command made by Jesus Himself at the close of a common meal taken on the last evening of His life. Every assumption of its having originated in the Church from the recollection of intercourse with Him at table, and the necessity felt for recalling His death, is precluded. The celebration must rather have been generally observed from the beginning. The failure of the Fourth Gospel to narrate the institution of the Supper cannot, from the character of the book, surprise us. Nor is it astonishing that in it Jesus' last meal is not a Paschal Supper. That it actually was this there is no doubt. It was on account of the Passover that Jesus went to Jerusalem that evening. It was the Paschal feast which was actually held that caused His death to be compared with the killing of the Paschal Lamb (1 Cor. v. 7).

At the institution bread and wine were presented, after consecration by a prayer of thanksgiving which is variously designated, but without any obvious difference, by the words εὐχαριστεῖν

and εὐλογεῖν (Matt. xxvi. 26 f.; Mark xiv. 22 f.; 1 Cor. xi. 24, x. 16; Luke xxii. 17, 19). From this description are distinguished the words which accompanied the presentation itself. These were spoken by Jesus at the institution. They were repeated at each recurrence of the festival. If this is not expressly stated, it is evident, if only from the fact that Paul could say (1 Cor. xi. 26) that at the celebration they always proclaimed the Lord's death.

It is remarkable that these words have not been handed down in an unvarying form. This is striking, because they were employed liturgically. It proves that they were taken, not as words effecting consecration, but as an explanation of the symbolic rite; and therefore scope was left to the spirit of Apostolic liberty.

The four accounts run as follows:—

Paul, 1 Cor. xi. 24, 25: '*This is My body for you. This cup is the new covenant in My blood. This do, as often as you drink, in remembrance of Me.*'

Mark xiv. 22-24: '*Take, this is My body. This is My blood of the covenant, which is shed for many.*'

Matt. xxvi. 26-28: '*Take, eat, this is My body. Drink all of it; for this is My blood of the covenant, which is shed for many, for the remission of sins.*'

Luke xxii. 19-20: '*This is My body which is given for you. This do in remembrance of Me. This cup is the new covenant in My blood which is shed for you.*'

The differences are not to be traced to any contrariety of conception. The blood of the covenant points in every case to the sacrificial death, and the reference to the Passover. The four texts, however, evidently form two groups—Mark and Matthew, on the one hand; Paul and Luke, on the other. In each group there is a simpler form—Mark and Paul; and a more extended—Matthew and Luke. That the simpler form is the original follows from the most important amplifications (in Matthew: for the remission of sins; in Luke: which is given for you—which is shed for you) being explanatory. Which of the simpler forms, however,

is the older and purer is not to be determined from the witnesses. The Synoptic form certainly came from the Primitive Church; but Paul may also have obtained his text from the same source.

On internal grounds Mark's text seems preferable to that of Paul. The chief indication is that the second half of the Pauline formula reads like a commentary. The parallel of the bread and wine required the clause, 'this is My blood,' and Paul himself afterwards (xi. 27) implies this; he, too, regards, not the cup, the drinking, but the shed blood as instituting the covenant. Less important is the distinction that while Mark has the invitation, 'take,' Paul gives the command, 'this do in remembrance of Me.' The former is more liturgical, the latter more historical. From the above, however, we may assume that the common formula is given in Mark, and rendered with some freedom in Paul; and that the additions in Matthew and Luke attached themselves to these in a sense similar to their originals.

§ 2. *The Meaning*

We may not here ask, in the first place, what meaning Jesus Himself attached to the institution. With the symbol He has in His words set us a problem. They are like a parable whose solution, however, He has not given. What we have to discover is the sense which the Apostolic Church attached to them; and if we can ascertain this, tracing the interpretation up to the earliest period, we may draw conclusions as to the intention with which the rite was instituted. The best starting-point for our inquiry is in Paul: he gives not only the words but also their interpretation. In the Synoptics we have merely the words.

In Paul the words as to the bread run: 'This is My body for you.' It is very natural to take this to mean, as in Luke, 'which is given for you,' and thus to refer it to Christ's death. But this addition of Luke does not agree with the exposition of the phrase in Paul. If we compare 1 Cor. x. 17 and xi. 27, then it is clear that by the body Paul alternately understands the Church and

Jesus Himself, applying it to the former, doubtless, by means of the interpretation of the simile of the bread, as a unity composed of many grains of corn. xii. 27 furnishes the connecting link between the two applications: the Church is one body, but the body of Christ Himself. When, therefore, we find in Paul's text 'the body for you,' the words can only mean: the body as it is for you, not, as it is given for you. Accordingly there is no reference here to Christ's death. Such a reference occurs all the more certainly in the second part of the rite. The words: 'the cup is the new covenant in My blood' (through My blood) do not admit of any other explanation than that the covenant was concluded by means of the blood, accordingly by the death, and was appropriated by the act of drinking. Paul then speaks (xi. 26, 27) of the proclaiming of the death and of the blood in the above sense. Consequently he regarded the bread as the symbol of Christ's presence in the Church, but the wine as the symbol of His death by which He had become the new Paschal sacrifice (v. 7).

What is given in the Synoptic formula is in essential agreement with this. The words, 'this is My body,' give no sufficient reason for thinking of the death of the body. It is much more natural to interpret the symbol as applying to the living personal presence promised in Matt. xviii. 20 (cf. John xiv. 18 f., 23). In that case the only difference from Paul is that he has defined that presence by the conception of the body of Christ as the unity of the Church. In the second part of the institution the reference to the death is here again indisputable; if only from the fact that Jesus goes on to say (Matt. xxvi. 29; Mark xiv. 25) that He will not drink again with them of this fruit of the vine until He does so in the kingdom to come. The wine which He now drank with them was, however, the easily understood symbol of His death, and the meaning was rendered self-evident by the Paschal Supper.

Luke was the first to refer both parts of the institution to the death by the parallel additions, 'given for you'—'shed for you.' The change arose as the life and ideas of the earliest time became things of the remote past: it was now easier to understand the

whole, if both parts were referred to the death. The author of the Gospel, however, had indeed received the completed formula. In his view, then, the whole rite had been instituted with reference to the death. Therefore the concluding saying as to drinking the fruit of the vine no longer suited him in its old place, and he based on it (xxii. 17 f.) a separate preliminary action, with which the handing of the cup at the institution of the Supper had nothing to do; the latter, we are expressly told, took place after the meal (xxii. 20).

In the Johannine view of the celebration both ideas are united. The interpretation that applies the bread to the death is implied; it was the body which Christ should give for the life of the world (vi. 51). But the older conception still breaks through, in the saying that Jesus as the bread come down from heaven was the bread of life (vi. 41, 48).

The early Apostolic Church solemnised in this mystery the memory of its Lord, under the symbols of His living presence and His covenant-forming death.

§ 3. *The Meal*

That this commemoration immediately followed a common meal is altogether indisputable. The recollection of the Last Supper on the part of men still alive made it a matter of course for the Primitive Church that it should. The commemoration would otherwise have been incomplete. The account given in the Acts of the κλάσις τοῦ ἄρτου is of such a nature that we only learn definitely that the meal was a joyful thanksgiving service for food; as to the special rite we hear nothing, and we are limited, following Paul, to inferences drawn from the name itself. This holds true, also, of the mention of the subject in the record of the eyewitness (xx. 7 and xxvii. 35).

The significance of the common meal was due to the habit of Jesus in daily intercourse with His disciples. To that His words spoken at the institution itself as to the drinking of the wine

obviously referred. So, also, the sentence on Judas (Mark xiv. 18 and par.), the betrayer, who yet ventured to eat with Him, and (Luke xiii. 26) on those who should plead at the judgment that they had eaten and drunk in His presence. All the benefits which came from Him were thought of as consequences of companionship with Him at table (Matt. xv. 26). Hence, also, the reproach that He was 'a glutton and a winebibber' (Matt. xi. 19). The disciples (Luke xxiv. 30) recognised Him at Emmaus 'in the breaking of bread,' and it soon became a part of the legend that after the resurrection His disciples generally had been able to eat and drink with Him (Acts x. 41).

With the above custom was connected, in the evangelic tradition, the allegorical story of the miraculous feeding, an expression of boundless trust in His help (Matt. xvi. 8; cf. Matt. vi. 25, 31; 2 Cor. ix. 10). On it was founded the use of the common meal to typify the future Kingdom of God (Luke xiv. 15 f.; Matt. xxii. 4; Luke xxii. 30; cf. Rev. iii. 20). The figure is reversed in John iv. 34, where the fulfilment of the Divine will is the food of Jesus, and this is followed by the appropriation of Jesus on the part of believers being comprehended under the same type (John vi. 27, 33, 35 ff.).

The great practical importance of these meals in the Primitive Church could only be increased by the poverty of a section of the Church, and the help which was thus afforded.

The adoption of the custom by the Gentile Christians was facilitated by their previous acquaintance with it in the meals associated with heathen societies. In 1 Cor. Paul implies that the practice was beyond question. He assumes that the whole community assembled to take part in it (1 Cor. xi. 18, 20, 33). The abuses which he reproved and sought to abolish were of two kinds. First, the congregation divided into groups, the rich having their meals prepared without reference to the others, and the poor requiring to wait. Thus the difference in means and style of living could not but wound, while the meal of the wealthier degenerated into sensuality. In consequence of this, again, the Lord's Supper

itself, the commemoration, was neglected, if not altogether given up. The feeling for it was lost, the order thrown into confusion, the very formula had to be insisted upon by Paul. The degeneracy seemed to the Apostle so serious that he regarded cases of sickness and death in the Church as a punishment (xi. 29, 30), a Divine chastisement with effects like those of excommunication (v. 5). He directed that the meal itself should be thoroughly social, and whoever was too hungry to wait on the others was first to satisfy his hunger at home. These directions are then followed by the becoming celebration of the Lord's Supper, at which every one was conscious of the difference between it and ordinary eating and drinking, proclaiming the Lord's death by participation in the act of confession. But Romans xiv. also enables us to gauge the significance possessed by the meal itself for the confessional unity of the Church. The various practices there discussed become doubly important in view of this communion.

In the difficulties with which Paul had to contend we find the earliest grounds for the separation of the meal from the commemoration. This, however, was not carried out in the Apostolic Age, nor for long afterwards. The offering of gifts—as distinguished from the προσφορὰ of prayer—in Clem. Rom. (1 Cor. 44) still points to the meal. The ancient usage still appears in the report of Pliny. The expression ἀγάπην ποιεῖν in Ignatius (*Ad Smyrn.* viii.) again refers to the meal. The Didache of the Twelve Apostles (ed. Harnack, p. 31) makes the commemoration take place, μετὰ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι, accordingly after the meal: and both are combined in the following prayer. In Justin Martyr we find the commemoration associated with the meeting for instruction: the meal had then been departed from. But the rite still retained traces of it in the two thanksgivings for the gifts of creation and of redemption (*Apol.* i. 67; *Dial. c. Tr.* 41, 117).

The Christians had no sacrifice. The presence of the temple was sufficient to account for this in the Primitive Church. Paul recognised no sacrifice except that of self-surrender (Rom. xii. 1; cf. Phil. ii. 15, 17), or a gift prompted by love (Phil. iv. 18). But the

Lord's Supper, involving as it did the conviction of union with God, constituted communion with Him just as the sacrifice did in other religions (1 Cor. x. 14-22).

SECTION IV.—LITURGICAL FORMULAS

§ 1. *Introductory*

The use of liturgical formulas was not entirely unknown at the meetings. This is proved, above all, by the fact, exemplified in Paul, that certain Aramaic words were employed among the Greeks, *e.g.*, *Abba* in addressing God as Father (Rom. viii. 15; Gal. iv. 6), the word being probably derived from the Lord's Prayer. Again, we have *Maran Atha* (1 Cor. xvi. 22), in the autograph postscript of the Apostle, and either meaning, 'The Lord is at hand' (like, the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand), or, 'Come, Lord,' as in the exclamation in Rev. xxii. 20. We now know from the Didache of the Twelve Apostles (ed. Harn. p. 36), that the phrase was employed in the celebration of the Lord's Supper, when the members came forward to take part in it: 'Let him who is holy draw near, let him who is not repent. Maran Atha.' That this was the moment is confirmed by the previous prayer occurring between the meal and the celebration of the Lord's Supper—*μετὰ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι*, a phrase which can only be taken as applying to the meal, and not to the Lord's Supper. Thanks had certainly been already given for the cup and the bread; but this need not affect the question, in view of the freedom, characteristic of the writing, with which the matter found by the author has been compiled. In Paul the phrase is preceded by something like the above challenge: 'Let him who loves not the Lord be accursed. Maran Atha.' The Apostle accordingly has probably derived his application of it in this passage from his recollection of its use at the Lord's Supper (cf. also Rev. iii. 20, xxii. 17-20).

§ 2. *The Doxology*

In the letters of the Apostle Paul we meet with the practice of inserting in certain cases an expression of adoration, either parenthetically or by way of completing what he has said, after a mention of God, of His nature or gifts. For this purpose he makes use of either of two formulas, with slight additions and modifications. In their simplest form one reads εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς (Rom. i. 25, ix. 5; 2 Cor. xi. 31), the other, δόξα τῷ θεῷ (Rom. xi. 36 [xvi. 27]; Gal. i. 5; Phil. iv. 20), both concluding with: εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν. This practice is continued in other writings (*e.g.* Eph., i. 3; 1 Peter, i. 3; Eph. iii. 21; 2 Tim. iv. 18; Heb. xiii. 21; 2 Peter iii. 18), and with additions, (*e.g.* τιμὴ, κράτος, κ.τ.λ., 1 Tim. i. 17; 1 Peter iv. 11; Jude, ver. 25; 1 Peter v. 11). It is true we find the doxology only in the letters; but its use in them is of such a nature that we have reason to regard it as having been habitually pronounced by the speakers at the meetings, and as having thus obtained its fixed form. This doxology might be inserted, just as in the letters, in the course of an address, but its favourite place was at the close of certain discourses, such as the λόγος σοφίας or γνώσεως, or the prophecy. Apart from any standing order, usage prescribed the rule to be followed. This is confirmed in the Apocalypse, where not only does the seer utter the doxology at the appropriate place (i. 6), but the διδόναι δόξαν τῷ θεῷ repeatedly occurs in the course of the action, as an act of confession called for by the circumstances (Rev. xi. 13, xiv. 7, xvi. 9, xix. 7, cf. vii. 12, xix. 1). In the proceedings described in this book, however, confession also passes into song, as is shown in iv. 11 ff. The angels' song in Luke ii. 14 may also be regarded as a doxology which had arisen in the Church. The ascription of praise in the Lord's Prayer, on the other hand, is without doubt of later origin.

§ 3. *The Benediction*

It is with the blessings as with the doxology; we become acquainted with them from their habitual use in the letters

especially in those of Paul, and from this we may draw our inferences as to their use orally at the congregational meetings. With the benedictory greeting the letter begins, with the benediction proper it closes. The primitive form of the first was, as we have already shown: 'Grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.' That at the close ran: 'The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ (be) with you.' That we have in the former case ὑμῖν, in the latter μεθ' ὑμῶν, may be explained by the one form expressing a wish, and the other confirming the fact. That these blessings were originally liturgical is probably also supported by their occurring side by side with the invitation to greet the members of the Church with the holy kiss (1 Cor. xvi. 20; 2 Cor. xiii. 12; Rom. xvi. 16). We do not know at what point the blessing was pronounced, whether, as afterwards, it even then preceded the Eucharist; there can, however, be no doubt that it was used in the meeting. The use of the benediction recurs not only, with all sorts of modifications, in the whole of the letters which can be looked on as more or less dependent on Paul, but also in a perfectly independent quarter, in the Apocalypse (i. 4 f.) in which we have the formula—again a primitive form expanded by occasional additions: 'Grace and peace from God and from Jesus Christ.' So also at the close (xxii. 21): 'The grace of the Lord Jesus (be) with all.' This coincidence itself points to the usage having been habitual in the congregation. We cannot decide whether it was the single address or the whole service that was thus begun and closed. It is worth noting, however, for this point, as well as for the custom generally, that Paul in opening his instructions in 1 Cor. regarding the spiritually gifted, the πνευματικοὶ, asserts (xii. 3) that no one could call Jesus the Lord who did not possess the Spirit. This assurance only receives its full significance, if we suppose that he actually so named Jesus, and might well refer accordingly to the practice of beginning with the benediction.

§ 4. *Amen*

Paul and the Apocalypse both let us see that the Hebrew Amen was appended to the doxology. But we can show, over and above this, that it was not only added by a speaker, but was uttered as a response by the hearers. The heavenly rites by which the Lamb was installed in His office (Rev. v. 6-14; cf. ὁρισθεὶς Rom. i. 3, 4) are brought to an end with the Amen of the four beasts and twenty-four elders. Something similar recurs at vii. 12 where the doxology is combined with the Amen; so also (xix. 4) we have Hallelujah, Amen; and it is used (xxii. 20) as a response in another connection, with ἔρχου κύριε Ἰησοῦ. Of course we have here not an account of the congregation on earth but only a type from which we may infer what it was like. Paul, however, expressly mentions (1 Cor. xiv 16) that the lay listeners to the speaker with tongues had to say Amen to his ascription of praise. This implies a standing custom. And the rule which applied to the speaking with tongues was certainly applicable to all the addresses in which there was an ascription of praise to God. Whether the response always consisted of the simple Amen, or whether other words were combined with it, and repeated clause by clause after the speaker, must be left undecided.

SECTION 5.—CONCLUSION

The two kinds of meetings held by the early Christians constituted the whole of the Divine service of the Church. The meeting for the word was most nearly akin to the Synagogue in its aiming at instruction, in the simplicity of its forms, and in the liberty given to any one to speak. Yet the Christian congregation was different in the variety of the addresses, in the general interchange of spiritual ideas. And it was also different from the celebration of mysteries, whose spiritual excesses are recalled by certain phenomena; it was destitute of symbolical effects, of

pictorial and emblematic devices; all was free spiritual production, and rested on the common possession of a faith perfect in itself, needing nothing save to be expressed and imparted. The sacred suppers may recall the sacrificial feasts, as also the meals of the Pharisees and Essenes, and the practice of all sorts of heathen bodies. They were distinguished from the sacrificial feasts by a holy gravity; the mood was different. The participant did not come with the feeling that he had offered his sacrifice: he had none to offer; but he confessed his having taken part in the sacrifice which had been offered for him, the supreme moral sacrifice. No other social meal possessed this significance and character. That man did not seek to influence the Deity was manifest in both meetings; the worshipper had received, he proved and recognised that he had received, the supreme good. This was the only cultus the religion possessed; with it a new day had dawned in the history of religions.

These observances constituted, in what was essential, precedents for all times; in their actual form they belonged to the period of institution. What was peculiar to the age consisted not only in its creative fertility, but also in the accompaniment of the latter, over-excitement. The impulse that produced prophecy and speaking with tongues gave to the Church its all-contemning, all-conquering strength. But it was also the transitory part. The Charismata of the age constituted its splendour, but they also proved its finitude. On the other hand, the Lord's Supper was the lasting memorial of the Founder, and was thus the essential confession of the Church for all times. But the common meal could only belong to the first period. It signified the union of brotherly love in the confession; it could not but pass away whenever the Church began to expand into the vast association based on religion. Thus the permanent was given in the wrappings of the historical commencement.

CHAPTER II

THE CONSTITUTION

SECTION I.—THE WHOLE CHURCH

§ 1. *The Offices*

THE widely divergent conceptions which exist of the constitution of the Apostolic Church are partly to be explained from a conscious or unconscious importation into them of later regulations. It was in this way possible for their respective adherents to believe that they found the complete Episcopate, Presbyterianism, or, finally, even pure social democracy in the order of the period. In any case, that would not have been possible if our sources had not been of such a nature as to leave a wide field for conjecture. What we can, in spite of this, derive from them will only approximate to the truth, if we start with the intention of doing justice to the quite distinctive view presented by history. History, however, contrary to a very natural prejudice, leads us above all to the conclusion that the Church did not grow out of the single community, but that the whole, the *ἐκκλησια τοῦ θεοῦ*, came first; the separate Churches then rose out of the mission for the Kingdom of God, and the wants and ministries of this mission formed the basis of their government as well as of their practical activity. Church government was therefore based on the Apostolate.

The opinion that the Apostolate may have been first set up by the Primitive Church, a council of Twelve, is negatived by

Paul. The Apostolate was founded by Jesus Himself, not as an ecclesiastical office, but as a preaching ministry. The significance of this choice of twelve men was not confined to their individual vocation, but applied also to the destiny of Israel; the same thing is expressed from another point of view in their future judgeship over the twelve tribes (Matt. xix. 28). No connection was intended between this and the rank and dignity of an office. They accompanied Jesus to Jerusalem, when His own vocation led Him to bring matters to a crisis there, simply in virtue of their being called on behalf of Israel; and it was because of this that they afterwards reassembled in Jerusalem and originated the Church. Besides, they were at first called simply the Twelve. The position which they occupied in Jerusalem was at the outset due to their missionary work, for the Church was in process of development. Their leadership of this embryo Church was really identical with the instruction which they had to give. Their teaching held the growing community together; those who joined it were then brethren, so long as they did not themselves become missionaries. There is a universal concurrence of testimony as to the position of the Apostles in Jerusalem, the earlier narratives in the Acts agreeing with Paul's account of what he found when he came to the capital in A.D. 38. He went to visit Peter, and the only further question in his narrative (Gal. i. 19) is whether he saw another Apostle, and who it may have been.

Here two additional points at once claim our attention. The Apostles did not merely occupy that position of theirs in the Church of Jerusalem, but it applied to the Churches as a whole. This fact becomes apparent in the Acts from the time, when, according to its account, the persecution of Stephen led to the extension of the work abroad. We are told indeed that the Apostles themselves remained at the outbreak of the attack in Jerusalem; but they were soon summoned away, and Peter at least is said to have travelled about and taken up his abode in Jewish cities. We afterwards learn from Paul that he himself was anxious about his relationship with the Churches of Judaea as a

whole, but that he felt that the question was settled by his negotiations with Jerusalem and the Apostles there. The second point is that the Twelve do not come before us as a standing and compact corporation, but as individuals; and therefore stress is laid, to a very large extent, only on certain men. The Acts, it is true, also mentions afterwards (*e.g.* xi. 1) the Apostles in a body, along with the brethren, as representing the Church in Jerusalem; but, in its narratives, the same book deals, almost from the beginning, principally with definite individuals who came forward as actors and leaders, with Peter and John, and especially, almost exclusively, with the former. This state of matters is also implied by Paul, not merely on his first journey to Jerusalem when he sought to speak only with Peter, but also on the second, when it was not necessary, in order to have his case decided, to come to an understanding with the Apostles as a whole, but only with the three, Peter, James, and John. And he does not designate them on this occasion by their official title of Apostles. He calls them those who were highly esteemed or recognised, those who were called pillars, thus dwelling on their personality. This was only possible if, not an office, but the ministry of the mission and the work done in it were involved.

One would think from this that the Apostolate must have become narrower through the course of events, and been gradually confined to a few. But exactly the opposite was the case; the name was applied more widely. The Twelve, indeed, remained as they were; but the name of Apostle came to be assigned to others who entered into the missionary calling. And these were regarded not as *ἀπόστολοι ἐκκλησιῶν* (cf. 2 Cor. viii. 23), but *ἀπόστολοι Χριστοῦ*, 'sent by Christ,' yet not belonging to the Twelve. Our information as to this comes from Paul; but it gives us not only his own usage, but that also of the Primitive Church.

Paul has used this title to designate his missionary assistants, Timothy and Silvanus (1 Thess. ii. 6); and it is impossible to attach any other meaning to his characterisation of Barnabas (1 Cor. ix. 5) and Apollos (1 Cor. iv. 6, 9) as Apostles. So also

we have to take into account here his inclusion of Andronicus and Junias among the Apostles (Rom. xvi. 7), and his testimony that they had earned distinction among them. Now it may of course be objected that Paul stood in a peculiar position, having, in virtue of the manifestation of Christ to him and his independent call, claimed the character of an Apostle even in face of the Twelve; his having taken this step might have widened his conception, and his language would then be peculiar to himself. This explanation, however, falls to the ground, if it can be proved from Paul that he found the practice of applying the title to others than the Twelve already in existence, both in the Primitive Church and among his Judaistic opponents. That he did is supported by the following observations.

First and foremost we may start with the fact that Paul includes James, the Lord's brother, among the Apostles (Gal. i. 19), and that not merely by widening the conception of the title, but by placing him on a level with the Twelve. Nor is the impression produced by the designation given to James nullified by the mention (1 Cor. ix. 5) of the Apostles and the Lord's brothers side by side. The latter are no more excluded by this from the Apostolate than Peter who is also named separately. Now, if Paul thus included James and the Lord's brothers as a whole among the Apostles, we must suppose, especially as he was arguing with his Jewish opponents, that the title had been given to them in Jerusalem itself.

Paul's account of the manifestations of the Risen One (1 Cor. xv. 7) also compels us to assume a recognised extension of the title beyond the Twelve. From the Twelve being mentioned in the second, and all the Apostles in the fifth place, it is clear that the latter term is not meant to apply again to the Twelve, especially as the experience in question was one which from its nature did not recur. But Paul in making these statements was dependent upon the reports current in the Primitive Church; and it is therefore to be inferred that, in that early period which preceded the conversion of Paul, the Primitive Church recognised a wider circle of Apostles in addition to the Twelve.

It seems that in the following period Apostles were formally appointed or acknowledged. Paul points to this in the opening of Galatians (i. 1). In saying of himself that he was an Apostle neither of men nor by a man, he disowns not only human instruction, but also, and especially, human ordination, and we must suppose that such ordination was practised by the opposite party, and that he had been charged with the want of it. If that was so, the choice must without doubt have been subject to certain conditions. And, in fact, we can perceive these conditions without any difficulty in the comparison which Paul makes between his own rights and those of certain opponents who claimed that they possessed a better title to the Apostleship. According to them, the candidate required above all to be a Jew by birth (2 Cor. xi. 22). He must have seen Jesus (1 Cor. ix. 1; cf. 2 Cor. v. 16), and been an acknowledged promoter of His cause (2 Cor. xi. 23; cf. Acts i. 21). Personal qualities, like courage (2 Cor. x. 1 ff.) and eloquence (xi. 6), seem also to have been required. On the other hand, the Apostle was then expected to attest himself by certain signs (2 Cor. xii. 12), above all by miraculous powers and achievements; again by visions and revelations (xii. 1), but further, by attacks which could not fail to be made upon him and by his bearing under them (xi. 23 ff.). All this would have been meaningless, if only a given number of definite individuals had been recognised as Apostles.

We possess for the same period a decisive proof in support of the extension of the Apostolate, and that in the Jewish party, in the judgment pronounced by Paul (2 Cor. xi. 12-15) upon the Judaistic opponents with whom he contended: he calls them 'lying Apostles, deceitful workers who assumed the mask of Christ's Apostles, servants of Satan.' It is as impossible that Paul should have opposed the primitive Apostles in this way, as that his enemies should have themselves usurped their position. They had themselves been specially careful to appeal to the formal conditions of the Apostolate; they had also come provided with letters of recommendation (2 Cor. iii. 1). Historically, we

can only see in them a degenerate branch of the Apostolate in Jerusalem, which is, however, only explicable on the supposition that the practice of appointing Apostles had already existed for a considerable time. These men now sought, in opposition to the Apostolate which had grown up among Paul's followers, to establish themselves as the genuine representatives of the original council, and thus they provoked Paul to describe them by the name of Extra-Apostles, *ὑπερλίαν ἀπόστολοι* (2 Cor. xi. 5, xii. 11).

It is impossible to affirm that Paul founded his own claim on this practice of appointing additional Apostles. His title rested on higher grounds; it sprang from a purely Divine call; he therefore stood on an equal footing with the early Apostles, and was only distinguished from them by the special form of his call (1 Cor. xv. 8: *ἔκτρωμα*, abortion, but in the sense of an irregular birth). On the other hand, the above practice explains Paul's appointment and recognition of additional Apostles. He also gave the title, as we have seen, without hesitation to his companions and assistants in his mission. Barnabas, indeed, may have already borne it, but Timothy and Silvanus obtained it from him alone. And he, at least, unhesitatingly recognised Apollos on his own initiative. In this procedure Paul was perfectly justified; for he was only following the practice of the Jewish Christians.

The Apostolic ministry passed through a historical development which, beginning at a very early date—probably when James the Lord's brother came to be ranked as an Apostle—entered a fresh epoch with Paul, and then once more assumed a new phase in the Church of Jerusalem. The authority of the Apostolate might at times be questioned and made a subject of controversy. It was not seriously shaken, however; it could not but maintain its ground as long as the Church was still in its initial stage. Therefore, when Paul placed the Apostleship at the head of the ministries based on the Divine gifts in the community as the body of Christ (1 Cor. xii. 28), he clearly expressed a view prevalent in the whole Church. Without Apostles there was no Church; everything else was accessory.

The authority of an Apostle rested on an actual relationship: the Church had received its faith by his means. And this went on throughout its existence; it continued to receive from him the most important instructions, and it listened with the docility it had acquired at the first. It was through the word of the Apostle that the word of Jesus Himself, the Gospel, had been brought. He who told them of it was the messenger of God, and he himself was therefore viewed in the light of their faith in the message. Thus the primitive Apostles remained the esteemed, the pillars, to the Church that had risen in Jerusalem through their teaching. Thus Paul continued his missionary labours in the Churches founded by him, both when remote from them and on his repeated visits; he remained their Apostle. The reverence felt for an Apostle possessed the character of faith, and this found expression in the view that he was equipped with the Holy Spirit, a claim advanced by Paul himself (1 Cor. vii. 40), as it was made by and conceded to the others. It is also an indication of the conception formed of the whole relation existing between the Apostles and the Churches, that it was an undisputed doctrine that the Apostle might be supported by the Church, which was thus merely providing for itself.

The form assumed by this relationship was in each particular case determined by the character of the Apostle, simply because the connection was historical and personal. In Jerusalem the whole authority passed into the hands of James, not merely because he was the representative of legalism, but because he was the brother of Jesus. The influence exerted by Paul rested on the spirit of his Gospel. But he also claimed, on all occasions, the authority due to his Apostolic labours. The conversion of these communities to the Gospel was itself the proof and seal of his Apostleship (1 Thess. ii. 7 f.; 1 Cor. ix. 2; 2 Cor. xii. 12). It gave him a right to their gratitude and attachment (Gal. iv. 13 ff.). He felt that the claims which he had upon them were those of a father (1 Cor. iv. 14 ff.). He could require them to adhere to the teaching to which they had been called (Gal. i. 6 ff.). And he

felt entitled to reprimand them for any departure from it (1 Cor. iv. 18-21, xiv. 38; 2 Cor. xiii. 2 f.). To places like Rome, which had not been the scene of his Apostolic labours, his attitude was essentially different; he only proposed a mutual interchange of benefits, and made apologies for exhorting his readers (Rom. i. 11 ff., xv. 15). But this limitation only affected the form in which he addressed them; he felt that in substance his teaching had everywhere the same weight. Timothy (1 Cor. iv. 17) was to remind the Church of the rules in Christ which the Apostle taught everywhere in every Church; to this fact Paul himself appeals (vii. 17). Nay, in the inscription of the same letter (i. 2) the Apostle not merely had this community in view, but dedicated it to all those 'who in every place called upon the name of the Lord.'

The utterances of the Apostles did not obtain the stamp of a supreme power and ecclesiastical office, even where they interfered in the life of a single community. Even the Acts does not represent the earliest times so; it makes the Apostles advise the Church which administers its own affairs. And Paul's description in Galatians of the negotiations in Jerusalem sheds light on this point. The Apostles did not impose any commands on the Church; by themselves they only made resolutions to apply to the sphere of the mission; that alone was within their province. Paul, on his part, laid down his doctrines and rules with all the weight of an absolute authority (1 Cor. xiv. 36, 38). But where he was dealing with the decision of a single case he only made a proposal, and that no matter how deeply he was interested in it (cf. 1 Cor. v. 1 ff.); he himself had no doubt what ought to happen, he saw it all with his mind's eye as if it were already accomplished; and yet he could only suggest to the Church what decisions they might form.

If then a name be sought for the regular ministry of an Apostle after the work of founding a Church was over, we can only say that, apart from the moral effect of his advice and exhortation, it consisted in legislation. This is only true,

however, in a definite and limited sense. An Apostle only gave an ἐπιταγή, a charge of a compulsory nature, when he imparted a saying of the Lord Himself (*e.g.* 1 Cor. vii. 10; cf. 25, 6). When he had no such saying to fall back upon, he simply expressed a γνώμη, his own view, however great its weight might be; for he was entitled through the mercy of the Lord to feel himself an authority (vii. 25). Yet in certain cases he could state with confidence, even where he possessed no dictum of Jesus, that his command was to be regarded as coming from the Lord (xiv. 37). It was impossible to divorce the duty of imparting the Lord's words and that of pronouncing upon what the spirit of those words involved. And, as in Paul's case, this union of the declaration of the Lord's word as law with the determinative instruction based upon it is everywhere in evidence as the source of the authority possessed by the primitive Apostles. The communication of the Spirit solely by the imposition of the Apostles' hands in the Acts (cf. viii. 17) is only a crude conception of the above state of matters. The Apostolic age was still wholly ignorant of any such idea.

Among the general ministries of the Church of God Paul includes that of the prophets, whom he ranks immediately after the Apostles (1 Cor. xii. 28). By the Apostles the Church was founded; prophecy was then the divine testimony in her favour, convincing her that the Holy Spirit lived and wrought in her. By prophecy she received the courage of faith in her future. This ministry, with the gift necessary for it, was also associated with definite individuals. But from the nature of the case it was not restricted in the same way. The journeys made the Apostleship a special profession. Prophecy was practised in the congregational meetings, where its exercise might be begun at any moment. Hence we see how, while there undoubtedly were prophets, Paul could represent all the members as prophesying, and could exhort them to do so. This corresponds perfectly to the account of Pentecost given by the Acts; for the Spirit was imparted to the whole congregation. For this reason prophecy was still less an

office than the Apostolate. As a ministry, however, it was related to the whole Church; its operations were universally applicable; and if it intervened in the conduct of a particular Church, that was only incidental, and not a limitation of its design.

The grouping given by Paul (1 Cor. xii. 28) is also confirmed by Matt. x. 40 f.: 'He who receives you (the Apostles) receives Me: —'he who receives a prophet in the name of a prophet shall receive a prophet's reward.' These words form part of the latest additions to this logion; but they belong all the more—like the saying as to bearing the cross (x. 38)—to the reflected view of the Apostolic period. Apostles and prophets rise above the mass of the righteous and the little ones (ver. 41, 42)—the grades among the believers, accordingly, the whole Church (cf. also Matt. vii. 22, xxiii. 34, xxiv. 11, 24). The Apocalypse also combines in the same way Apostles and prophets (Rev. xviii. 20); the seer includes himself among the prophets (xxii. 9).

After 2 Cor. it is impossible to doubt that prophecy was firmly rooted in the Primitive Church. Paul appealed, against his inclination, to his own revelations and visions (xii. 1 ff.), simply because he had been confronted by men from that quarter who were renowned for such things. Besides, we can see plainly enough, in the instructions and ordinances which refer in 1 Cor. to the custom of prophesying at the meeting (xiv. 33, 36, 37 f.), that the usage in question was prevalent in the whole Church, and was as such traced back to the Lord Himself. The Acts has also preserved the names of a few prophets belonging to the Church of Jerusalem; twice it tells of predictions made by Agabus (xi. 28, xxi. 10); and it designates two members of that Church, Judas and Silas, as prophets (xv. 32). Even Barnabas is described as a prophet (xiii. 1), and, among the other names here enumerated, Manaen is probably also to be reckoned a member of the Primitive Church.

Prophets seem to have been universally distributed in the Gentile Christian Churches, both of Pauline and non-Pauline origin. The part of Paul's mission territory of which we know

most is Corinth; but there were already prophets in Thessalonica (1 Thess. v. 20), and probably also in the Galatian Churches (Gal. iii. 2-5). And prophecy occupies the first place in the discussion of the gifts existing in the Church of Rome (Rom. xii. 6).

Prophets frequently intervene in the course of events in the Acts. Thus Agabus does so, first by foretelling a famine which induced the Christians of Antioch to come to the assistance of the brethren in Jerusalem, and again when he attempts to restrain Paul from making his last journey to Jerusalem. In Antioch the prophets meet for prayer, and receive in common the revelation which sends Barnabas and Paul on their first great missionary journey. Twice an effort is made from Jerusalem to instruct the Church in Antioch by means of a deputation of prophets (xi. 27 and xv. 32). Of these narratives the first prediction of Agabus is not in its right place; for it is represented as occasioning Paul to make a journey to Jerusalem which never took place, and which, so far as we can see, intentionally anticipates Paul's actual support of the poor in the city, because that was omitted in the treaty of Jerusalem. The sending of Paul from Antioch is meant to legitimise him, as an agent appointed by a higher authority, in a fashion absolutely precluded by his own words. And the intervention of the Jerusalemite prophets in Antioch is designed to compensate for the studiously omitted deputation from James, and for the controversy in that city. We may nevertheless retain the tradition of the names, and the general view of the rise of the prophets. Here it is noteworthy that even in the Acts the prophets are not provided with an office in the Church, but that their labours are throughout incidental, voluntary, and designed for general purposes.

To come down to a period in which the Apostles and prophets were looked back upon as the great men of the past, the letter to the Ephesians shows how they were regarded as the foundation of the whole Church (ii. 20, iii. 5). Then the great men of the present had begun to be ranked with them (iv. 11): the Evangelists, who now carried on the work of the Apostles though

without bearing the same title, the pastors and teachers, and presidents and leaders of the Church. The Didache works on this model when, manifestly following Acts xiii. 1, it enforces the authority of the bishops and deacons, by urging that they can now discharge the same ministry as the prophets and teachers had done in earlier times (ed. Harn., 56 ff.); and this after it has already (37 ff.) discussed the reception of Apostles and prophets (following Matt. x. 40 f.), with all sorts of side references to false prophets living at the time, and to the requirements of the officials of the Church. With this device of ordinances of the Lord and of the Apostles, the gifts and ministries of the Apostolic age were metamorphosed into offices based on contemporary views, and those suggestions were introduced which were considered useful and necessary for the times.

The third ministry of the Church cited by Paul (1 Cor. xii. 28 f.) is the vocation of the *διδάσκαλοι*, teachers; the calling itself, the *διδασκαλία*, is named among the gifts (Rom. xii. 7). The teacher was on a par with the Apostles and prophets in the unrestricted and general character of his activity. There is again no question of an exclusive office. Teaching was, according to 1 Cor. xiv. 26, quite as voluntary an exercise and property of the gift as prophecy. For this reason these ministries were not exclusively represented by certain individuals. An Apostle could predict—Paul says he did—and he could in the same way come forward in the Church as a teacher at any moment (1 Cor. xiv. 6). Again (Acts xiii. 1) the same men could be called both prophets and teachers. In Gal. vi. 6 the teacher is seen in a distinctive guise (under the title *κατηχῶν τὸν λόγον*, cf. 1 Cor. xiv. 19), inasmuch as in this passage it is not a question of lecturing to the congregation, but of personal instruction. But this itself precludes teaching from being an ecclesiastical office in that Church. It was a continuation of the missionary instruction given by the Apostles; and with it was also connected the claim for maintenance. For the rest, we are here led to the special task involved in the calling. While embracing all the different forms of lecture given in the Church,

the first want was to supply practical directions based, after the analogy of the teaching of the law, on the Gospel (Matt. xv. 9; Mark vii. 7 [Isaiah xxix. 13] Rom. ii. 21); this was the Christian Halacha of which Paul speaks in 1 Cor. iv. 17 (cf. vii. 17 and Acts xxiv. 14), and which he calls (Rom. vi. 17) the τύπος τῆς διδαχῆς, interpreted in 2 Thess. ii. 15 as the παραδόσεις ἃς ἐδιδάχθητε (cf. Rom. xvi. 17). In the Primitive Church it began doubtless with the Apostles, but was also already, in accordance with the custom of the Synagogue, unrestricted in its exercise.

We have now exhausted the list of callings exercised in relation to the whole Church, callings which could only be named offices in a non-technical sense.

§ 2. *Legislation*

That which the Apostles planted and the teachers in the Church nurtured was, with all difference of conception and in spite of conflicting tendencies, the one faith in Christ, which proved, in its very development through the antitheses that so soon arose, both its infinite vitality and its power of resisting disintegration. The supreme aims of life remained everywhere the same. And this unity was shown by all sections deriving their rules of life from the same sources, and by their recognising one form of law. The believer in Christ possessed his supreme guide in His words; we cannot conceive of any Christian party denying this. But besides this, we have the remarkable yet easily explicable fact, that the authority round which the great controversy of the Apostolic period was waged, namely the Holy Scriptures, the repository of the law, remained for all, in spite of that controversy, the standard of life, and therefore also the bond of their own unity, because it was universally recognised as of Divine origin. Paul held by the Old Testament as firmly as the primitive Apostles or his later Judaistic opponents.

That Jewish Christianity should have upheld the combined validity of the Holy Scriptures as law and of the words of the

Lord, was a matter of course. The law possessed its full authority subject to the interpretation given by these words. The Primitive Church lived in the undisturbed conviction that in this unity she had received the Divine will. When this simple state of mind was shaken, the Judaistic party made the inviolability of the law the fundamental article of their creed, but they did not therefore thrust the word of the Lord into the background. They rather maintained that they were its genuine and only followers, because they possessed it in its unadulterated form. Hence, in spite of the fact that they preached the legal Gospel, they could appear under the name of the Christus-party. Now, while we have no statements, as in Paul's case, by representatives of the Primitive Church or of the Judaists to show how the above combination was effected, we can infer it from the tradition of the words of the Lord Himself. We know how it was said that not a letter of the law and prophets would pass away, and how the new teaching was set up in opposition only to false interpretations and applications, but never to the law itself. We see, from Jesus' saying (Matt. xxii. 37-40, par.), that the law and prophets were subordinated to the command to love God and our neighbour as the supreme guide to their interpretation. Where, however, Jesus abrogated a legal institution, such as divorce, He Himself taught His disciples how the act was to be justified from Scripture (Matt. xix. 3-9). Jewish scholasticism had long practised a method of interpretation by which the Commandments were not only extended and multiplied to suit every conceivable case, but also evaded by arbitrary and artificial combinations; a semblance of literalism was alone preserved. It was merely the ennobling of this procedure to subordinate everything to great and true points of view, or to correct what was untenable, not by the letter, but by the spirit of the book itself.

Paul, on the other hand, the Apostle of the Spirit, was, in the first place, absolutely bound by the words of Jesus. The man who said boldly: 'Henceforth we know no man after the flesh; though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet henceforth know

we Him no more' (2 Cor. v. 16), he who thus rejected all claims to exclusive knowledge of Him on the part of Jesus' disciples, was yet far from basing the order of the Church on an ideal. On the contrary the transmitted word of the Lord was to Paul an absolute law (1 Cor. vii. 10, 12, 25, cf. ix. 14).

But the same Apostle also made use of Holy Scripture as law. He had rejected the belief that righteousness could be gained by its fulfilment; he still held that it revealed the will of God. He neither could nor would dispense with the law. Among the Gentile Christians it alone provided plain directions for wide departments of life and conduct. Everything relative to the regulation of marriage, to the rights and duties of women was tacitly or avowedly determined by its help (cf. 1 Cor. v. 1 [Rom. vii. 1], 1 Cor. xi. 9, xiv. 34). When Paul absolutely opposed the ministry of the Spirit and that of the letter (2 Cor. iii. 6), it was under the conviction that the plan of salvation of the old covenant was at an end; but any conclusion to be drawn from this affected the rule of life no more than did inferences from the antithesis said by Jesus to exist between His teaching and what had been told to the ancients. The ministry of the Spirit and of liberty led to the right comprehension of that rule, because it possessed the standard by which to judge it in 'the glory of God in the face of Christ.' Paul at least made this use of it in practice. In this sense he dedicated the whole of Scripture, the whole law, to the Christian Church, for its comprehension and use. A Scriptural precept was meant for them (1 Cor. ix. 5 f.): 'for our sakes was it written.' In reference to a quotation from the Psalms we have (Rom. xv. 4): 'what was once written, was written for our instruction.' Of a narrative from Holy Scripture we are told (1 Cor. x. 11): 'these things happened to them typically, but they were written for our admonition to whom the ends of the ages are come.' Thus, then, he moved with perfect freedom on the path of allegory, while setting up laws and rules of life derived from Scripture (1 Cor. ix. 9, 13, xi. 9): as much so as in working out doctrinal tenets (cf. Gal. iv. 24). He was conscious of the fact, and stated

it without scruple. He did not regard as arbitrary or forced arguments like that of 1 Cor. ix. 9 f., for the adaptation of the command in Deut. xxv. 4: 'Is it for the oxen that God careth, or do His words not everywhere apply to us?' It could not but be so, in accordance with the belief that everything was written for us. He indeed extended and developed this artificial exegesis further than the Primitive Church, both because the law had become different to him, and because he understood the Gospel itself more clearly. But he recognised the book of the law as a source of practical rules, in addition to and along with the word of the Lord, quite as much as the early Christians did, and thus the bond of unity was preserved in this sphere. In the last resort Paul's practice also rested on the saying repeated by him (Rom. xiii. 8): 'he who loves his neighbour has fulfilled the law.'

The Apostles and teachers had to declare and interpret what the Lord's words and Scripture said. But extend this as they might, it did not answer all questions, nor satisfy all wants. Into the gap thus left the decisions of the Apostles entered; these became a living source of law, both speaker and hearer relying on the reception of the Divine Spirit. The sharp line drawn by Paul between the command of the Lord and his own opinion was certainly often hard to observe (cf. 1 Cor. iv. 6). But he also indicates a boundary of another sort, one by which the Apostles' verdict was preserved from becoming despotic, and yet was enabled to assume the form of law. His decree carried its full weight only if he had formulated it in all the Churches (1 Cor. vii. 14, iv. 17). This implies not merely the maturity and firmness of his decision, but the entrance into it of another element, namely, general recognition and acceptance. Thus the Apostolic sayings became a genuine law of custom. And we may easily gather from 1 Cor. xi. 16, xiv. 33-36, that this method was not restricted to Pauline Churches. In these passages Paul has evidently in view principles which had descended from a still earlier period, their authority emanating from the Primitive Church. And he could therefore, even in a strange Church like that of Rome, support his decree

by presupposing common ground and co-operation on it, and by appealing to the sure tradition (Rom. vi. 17). In this sense the Divine law found an auxiliary in the custom of the Church.

§ 3. *The Unity of the Church*

There existed from the beginning not only a conviction of unity of faith, but also a belief that the Christian communion was a Divine institution. This thought of the great Church embracing all believers was not first due to Paul. The figurative conception of the σῶμα Χριστοῦ (1 Cor. xii. 27, x. 16; Rom. xii. 5) was preceded by the idea of the βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν. And the Apostle did not invent the name of the ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ (Gal. i. 13; 1 Cor. xv. 9), the Church which he had persecuted and which now furnished his supreme aim; he found the term in existence, as its application to his persecuting period proves. Where a new sphere opened up to the faith, it became a question of κοινωνία (Gal. ii. 9).

The Primitive Church began at Jerusalem; there it possessed and maintained its central point. The Jewish Christian Churches thus of themselves formed a unity (Gal. i. 22; 1 Thess. ii. 14). And among them it was a matter of course that every new organisation should of necessity attach itself to the mother Church, in order to gain recognition and ecclesiastical privileges. The interference from Jerusalem with Paul's work in Antioch was not meant to destroy it, or to promote a schism, but to preserve the unity of the Church of God. The idea thus aimed at triumphed afterwards, though in another way, and on a different foundation.

The Gentile Churches, the ἐκκλησίαι τῶν ἐθνῶν (Rom. xvi. 4), were not thus naturally united. They were combined first by the powerful will of the great Gentile Apostle. A good part of his work is to be understood only as the effort to join sections naturally divided and divergent. But all of them were not within his sphere, the sphere of his work and authority; hence a new anxiety and a new task. Thus he concerned himself about the Roman Church. In general, however, Paul had a double aim in view. He sought

not only to bind the Gentile Churches together, but to preserve their connection with the Primitive Church. Even he held firmly by the *ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ* in this sense.

The efforts of the Apostle to promote unity in the Church founded by himself are to be seen in the idea aimed at by him of provincial Churches. He sought above all to hold the province together. Thus he writes (2 Cor. i. 1) to the Churches of Corinth and at the same time to the Christians in the whole of Achaia. The first letter was written from Ephesus; it conveys greetings to Corinth (xvi. 19), not merely from Ephesus, but from all the Churches of Asia. These greetings imply that there existed a familiar intercourse among the Churches of each of these provinces, the beginnings of a provincial constitution attached to the metropolis or metropolitan Church. We cannot demonstrate the existence of a similar unifying central point in Galatia and Macedonia. But Paul gives directions for the whole provinces, as in the matter of beneficence (1 Cor. xvi. 1; 2 Cor. viii. 18 f., 23). Then the Churches of the province also combined to appoint representatives. This very appointment, however, served the wider purpose of uniting the provinces to each other. And his whole history shows how Paul himself laboured for this end, by means of his journeys and letters, by the sending of his assistants, and by furnishing letters of introduction. His idea was the one Church which could not but be helped to arrive at a consciousness of unity and common action by the classification of communities in provinces. And wisely, and with a presentiment of the future, Paul completed his classification by attaching it at once to the empire of the world.

But Paul never, so long as he laboured, gave up the prospect of completely uniting this imperial Church with the Jewish parent Church. The ideas which had once impelled him to seek for the recognition of his mission in Jerusalem ever led him to strive for the maintenance and perfecting of the *κοινωνία* there attained. No experience, however dark, could confuse his aim; his disposition remained unaltered; an actual separation he regarded as a

calamity, as if by it his work would have become a castle in the air. He knew only one Church of God embracing Jews and Gentiles as believers (1 Cor. x. 32), just as the world outside consisted of Jews and Greeks. He did not live to see Jerusalem cease to be the central point. But what it was granted him to experience in Rome was sufficient to fill his mind with presentiments of another way.

SECTION II.—THE INDIVIDUAL CHURCHES

§ 1. *The Self-government of the Churches*

The essential foundations on which were based the existence of the individual Church and the regulation of the intercourse of its members were furnished by the ministry of the word, through which the Church was instituted and supported, and by the possession of Holy Scripture and of the sayings of Jesus. These two sets of conditions taken together gave a concrete form to the inner power of the religion, a form that rested by means of the Apostolate wholly on the person and mission of Jesus Himself, and that warranted the Church and believers, united spontaneously on this foundation, being represented as the body and members of Christ.

This explains the indisputable fact that each community governed itself, and in all important affairs framed its own decrees, and that accordingly the decrees were passed by the exercise of an equal right on the part of all the members.

That such a state of matters prevailed in the Primitive Church is sufficiently evident from the Acts. The Church elected and appointed to offices and missions: thus the vice-Apostle Matthias (i. 23), the seven deacons (vi. 5), Barnabas to be its representative at Antioch (xi. 22). It passed judgment on Peter's procedure at Cæsarea (xi. 1-4), and on Paul's principles (xv. 12, 22 f., xxi. 22). Paul's narrative of the course of his case in Jerusalem (Gal. ii. 1 ff.) could only verify this state of matters. And it existed side by side with the active ministry of the Apostles.

Among the Gentile Christian Churches of Pauline descent, the self-administration of each community is so obvious, that any government by representatives wholly set apart for the office, and especially by a teaching primacy, is put entirely out of the question, while the latter is also at once precluded by the fact that there was no teaching at all in the Church, except what rested on the talents and the voluntary coming forward of the members. The assumption of an administrative office contradicts everything to be observed in our authorities. Paul always wrote to the whole community, and, when calling upon it to adopt any measures, he never made use of the intervention of ecclesiastical officials. It was to the temper, the will of all that he addressed himself. Hence his careful instruction and his stirring exhortation when dealing not only with affairs of morals, but also with duties to be performed by the Church; hence the union of astute calculation and straightforward boldness when he required to influence the mind of the majority on whom the course of events depended. The decision given by the Apostle in 1 Corinthians on subjects relating to Divine service and to social observances was an answer to questions which had been submitted to him by the Church. There is nothing to show, either that officials had any part in presenting the questions, or that the reply was directed to such. The equality of all the brethren, which was so emphatically based by Paul on their relation of sonship to God through faith (Gal. iii. 26, 28), and which outweighed all difference of gifts and of vocation in the Church (1 Cor. xii. 12 ff.), was accordingly clearly realised in their full participation in the adjustment of their common affairs. The Church needed no governing office to secure its unity. That unity was effected by the congregational meeting, whether for the Lord's Supper, which assimilated the Church to the ancient people of God (1 Cor. x. 1 ff.), or for the communication of the word, by which the equal right of all to take part in the highest forms of their activity was realised. From the nature of the case, then, the community which thus pursued its loftiest aims, with the active participation and equal authorisation of every member,

would accomplish all its operations in a similar way. It could not fail to arrive, easily and naturally, at forms of self-government alongside of which any ecclesiastical office that might arise could only represent, in the strictest sense, a rendering of service. The same conditions, however, imply that in the case of decrees the first effort was to obtain unanimity. But instances occurred in which a resolution was passed simply by a majority, and yet was recognised as authoritative (2 Cor. ii. 6).

To turn to actual practice, we can prove that the community governed itself in all the most important matters that came within its experience.

Paul mentions (2 Cor. viii. 18 f.), that from Macedonia he had just sent to Corinth, along with Titus, a brother, who bore a good name in the Churches, *i.e.*, the Macedonian Churches, on business relative to the collection. Strictly speaking, however, it was not the Apostle who had entrusted him with this business; he had been appointed by those Churches themselves to assist the Apostle, they having elected him (*χειροτονηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν*). The Churches, accordingly, appointed commissioners in important matters, and exercised a right of election for the purpose. Under the same head comes the issuing of letters of introduction, *ἐπιστολαὶ συστατικαὶ* (2 Cor. iii. 1), which possibly also the Apostle could receive from a Church. In all these cases we are dealing with representation abroad. Here we can only provisionally rank with the above instances the rule, that even the recognition of those who ministered to the congregation depended on the free choice of the members (1 Cor. xvi. 16; 1 Thess. v. 12).

But as the Church appointed its representatives, so also it exercised discipline and passed judgment as a Church, as a primary assembly, upon its adherents. We therefore find Paul (Gal. vi. 1) recommending to it a merciful and restorative procedure in connection with certain lapses that had occurred. He was not dealing with the attitude of individuals to each other, but with the action of the whole body, although the part to be taken in

it by each was to be a matter of conscience. In the first letter to the Corinthians, Paul summons the Church (v. 3) to try one of their number who had committed incest. The members were to assemble, and might then form a resolution agreeing with Paul's own judgment; with this the power of the Lord Jesus would then co-operate, and thus the sentence, only to be carried out supernaturally—*i.e.*, the man's death—would be executed. We find the Church in another case (2 Cor. ii. 6, 7, 9, vii. 12), condemning by a majority one who had rebelled against Paul; the Apostle, however, advised and begged the Church subsequently to pardon him. The procedure was here again a Church matter, and was carried out by a kind of vote. To this usage was also due what Paul says (1 Cor. iv. 3) of a court at which the Corinthians proposed to try the Apostle himself; he is speaking in this passage not of depreciatory opinions uttered in private, but of a summons of the Church.

In this connection Paul further made to the Corinthians a far-reaching suggestion from another point of view. In order to prevent the prejudicial effect of lawsuits about property on the part of members of the Church, he proposed (1 Cor. vi. 1 ff.) that, if they were unable to avoid, by submission in the spirit of the Gospel, going to law altogether, they should keep their disputes to themselves and settle them by arbitration. In that case the saints, as such, accordingly all the members of the Church, must have possessed both the ability and authority to arbitrate.

Another subject on which the community passed resolutions was expenditure for public purposes. We cannot indeed prove whether the expenses of Divine service—in particular the provision for the meal, or the hire of the hall—were defrayed from Church funds. As regards the former each member seems to have provided for his own share, at least in Corinth, and it was probably the general rule elsewhere for the members to contribute for the day's expenses. So, also, we have no instance of the poorer members being assisted except by the charitable gifts of individuals. The support of Apostles and teachers temporarily resi-

dent in a Church was a different matter. In addressing the Corinthians Paul claimed this as an Apostolic right, certified by an appeal to Scripture and the word of the Lord (1 Cor. ix. 10, 13), and therefore not dependent on the discretion of the moment. He himself, indeed, renounced this help, and also guarded himself against the view that his present argument was meant to prepare his readers for a change in his attitude. But the right existed, and created a corresponding duty on the part of the community. A similar exhortation by the Apostle (Gal. vi. 6) refers to the instruction received by a single member. In other instances also it is at all events conceivable that such gifts, though handed over in name of the Church, were yet derived from the voluntary contributions of members. Paul himself took nothing, not only in Corinth, but as a general rule, *e.g.*, even in Thessalonica on his first visit. But he exceptionally received and accepted money, when in Corinth, from the saints in Philippi (2 Cor. xi. 8, 9 ; cf. Phil. iv. 10 f.). These, accordingly, maintained him in his capacity of an Apostle, not only while he was ministering to them, but when he continued his work elsewhere, as if his Apostleship had been the execution of a commission granted by them. He was thus treated like a deputy whom the Church had sent to another place, and whose wants it was bound to supply, unless he was able and willing to give up his claim. Paul once more received support from Philippi, when a prisoner in Rome (Phil. ii. 25, iv. 10-18). It was conveyed to him by a member of the Church, Epaphroditus, who acted as the λειτουργὸς of his necessities on behalf of the Church. The Apostle thanked not certain individuals, but the Church, and it was only as coming from the latter that the gift could be designated a λειτουργία. Yet this does not preclude it having been raised by voluntary contributions collected for the purpose. A second case in which Churches resolved on and carried out a similar effort was the collection instituted by Paul for Jerusalem, and here we can also indicate the procedure followed —namely, the levying of subscriptions. In the Galatian Churches it was so arranged, after a plan of the Apostle, that every member

set aside on each first day of the week an amount in proportion to his means, and this practice was then introduced into Corinth by Paul (1 Cor. xvi. 1). The collection was accordingly instituted by the Church; it was an assessment imposed by edict upon itself. The Churches in Achaia, as well as in Macedonia, had passed a resolution on the subject, the purpose being to give the proceeds in the form of a subsidy to the poor among the saints in Jerusalem (Rom. xv. 26). In this sense, therefore, such subjects were determined on as pertaining to the whole community.

In all these respects the community was fully empowered to exercise the most important rights, choosing representatives, holding courts, and making collections among its adherents for definite purposes. An ecclesiastical office endowed with independent authority could not subsist along with this self-government. It could only take the form of a ministry whose warrant rested from day to day on the voluntary approval of the members, just as it began with a free offer of self, and was therefore included by Paul among the charismata (1 Cor. xii. 28; Rom. xii. 7 f.).

§ 2. *Jerusalem*

It is to be observed throughout the narratives of the Acts that even in Jerusalem it was the Church itself which deliberated and passed resolutions in the most important affairs; and with this the allusions made by Paul agree. But the Acts indicates, besides, a representative council which in any case had prerogatives of its own. In the earliest times, indeed, we only hear of the Apostles in conjunction with or as governing the Church, and no change follows the appointment of the deacons, whose whole commission from the Church was to attend to the common table, and thus to lighten the duties of the Apostles. Afterwards, however, representative elders make their appearance, absolutely without explanation; we first find them in xi. 30, where we are told of the transmission to them of the money raised by the Christians of Antioch on account of the famine in Jerusalem. We cannot suppose that

these are only the deacons under a new name; for it was no part of the duties of the latter to act as representatives of the Church, nor could they do so, for from the motive of their appointment they were chosen, at least mainly, from the Hellenists. For the rest, we cannot infer the date of their first appointment from this first mention of the elders; for the whole narrative is rendered impossible in its present position by the account it contains of Paul being sent to Jerusalem. The elders again appear in connection with the conferences held with Paul in Jerusalem. Paul and his companions are received on their arrival by the ἐκκλησία and the Apostles and elders (xv. 4). Then the Apostles and the elders meet to advise together (ver. 6). This is not indeed kept up; for, according to ver. 12, πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος—plainly the whole body of the adherents of the Church—was present, and (ver. 22) the decision was formed by the Apostles and elders, together with the whole ἐκκλησία. But in the letter to Antioch it is effected by the Apostles and elders; and in any case the view of the writer is that the elders acted and deliberated along with the Apostles as a representative council of the Church, although it was necessary that the whole community should co-operate in passing the resolution itself. The elders, finally, appear once more (xxi. 18) as a representative council of the Church under the leadership of James.

It is very natural to explain the rise of this Church representation from the withdrawal, after a certain date, of the Apostles from the government of the community in consequence of their missionary labours. But the narrative of the Acts contains nothing of this; Peter at least had already been frequently away from Jerusalem, and, on the other hand, at the time when the elders are clearly introduced into the history, the Apostles are with them. In any case, the author was ignorant of the origin of the institution. It is much better, therefore, to refer the change to his authorities. Those which were at his command for the history of the earliest period contained nothing about elders in Jerusalem. If he had any tradition about such an institution it

can only have referred to the subsequent, that is to say, the Pauline period. Under these circumstances, however, the question rises whether his statements were based on a tradition at all, and what view we are to form of their subject-matter. Representative elders, from whom again the leading officials—the rulers and judges—were appointed, were, both in Jewish towns and in the settlements, in the Diaspora, the essential feature in the constitution of the Jewish community. On the other hand, it is by no means self-evident that this institution should have been transferred to the Christian Church in Jerusalem. For it belonged to the civic community, and its foundation was therefore wholly different from that afforded by the congregation of believers, who, indeed, in their whole civic existence remained Jews (cf. Matt. v. 25). But, further, if we follow the narrative of the negotiations in Jerusalem, we also find that it does not make the elders appear in the capacity of a representative council of the community. Throughout they are only named along with the Apostles; they do not appear independently as forming a college; but in the formula, 'the Apostles and the elders,' we do come upon the idea of a college which was accordingly composed of these two divisions. This formula of itself reminds us of the similar one, *οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι* (iv. 23, xxiii. 14, xxv. 15), by which the Sanhedrim was designated. And, in point of fact, the college acts quite like a Christian Sanhedrim, as the supreme authority, not for the local community, but for all Christian Churches, for the whole *ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ*. We can therefore only form an opinion as to these elders in Jerusalem by asking whether such an authority is conceivable.

Now we obtain from Paul an essentially different view. His whole description rather portrays the Church in Jerusalem as still under the same constitution which it possessed, according to the Acts, in the preceding period. Throughout we have simply the assembly of the Church, on the one hand, and of the Apostles on the other, and we know from the characteristic titles of 'the esteemed' and of 'the pillars,' given by Paul to the latter, how on this very occasion their power was wholly moral in its nature.

There is absolutely no room here for the existence of the economy of any such college, of a Christian Sanhedrim. But Paul's sketch agrees perfectly with the essential character of the Christian Church, and its position relative to those outside its pale.

But, further, the position of James invites special attention. He appears in the Acts as abruptly as the elders (xii. 17). The charge given by Peter on his flight to tell what had occurred to James and the brethren plainly implies that James was regarded as the first man in the Church, and this is the idea of his position in the negotiations (xv. 13), as well as, finally, in xxi. 18. How this came about does not indeed appear, but the fact is substantially confirmed by Paul. While his first visit to Jerusalem was made expressly for the purpose of seeing Peter alone, he yet resolved also to have a further interview at least with James (Gal. i. 19), and this indicates the outstanding importance of the latter. And, besides, it was certainly not without reason that he has named James first (ii. 9), even before Peter, and chap. ii. 12 undoubtedly shows that James held the position of leader in Jerusalem.

After this all that we know for certain as to the constitution of the Church in Jerusalem is the single fact, that it was long governed by the primitive Apostles, and afterwards by James, neither possessing, however, compulsory powers. On the other hand, we have no satisfactory proof of any eldership, though we cannot deny the possibility of an order having been formed in the later days of the Primitive Church, similar to that which we find generally prevailing in the subsequent period. In this period the author of the Acts already lived, and it is conceivable that he should have transferred the state of matters existing in his own time to the earlier date. The Apostles and presbyters in the Primitive Church, then, were to him in their collective capacity, both the successors of the Sanhedrim, and the precedent for bishops and presbyters in his period.

§ 3. *Pauline Communities*

According to Acts xiv. 23, Paul and Barnabas ordained elders in the Churches founded in Lystra, Iconium, and Pisidian Antioch, when they for the second time visited these places; and this would seem to point to a regular practice of the Apostles. This is, however, not confirmed by Paul's letters. On the contrary, in discussing in 1 Corinthians the services rendered by the members to the body of Christ, he adduces ministries (xii. 28), such as 'helps and governments,' suggestive of the duties of the ecclesiastical office. They are wanting in the preceding review of the 'gifts' (ver. 7-10), because there the attention is directed to miraculous demonstrations, while, on the other hand, they appear when the ministries in general are enumerated more comprehensively. Even here officials are not named, and as a rule personal titles are only given in connection with the ministry of Apostles, prophets, and teachers. It does not, therefore, follow that the above services, as a whole, did not belong regularly to certain individuals, as we must, indeed, assume them to have done in the case of *δυνάμεις* and *χαρίσματα ἰαμάτων*. But we can undoubtedly conclude that no fixed title existed for them as yet.

However great the extent to which the Church governed itself, we must also assume a certain administration in the form of a personal ministry. Wherein this consisted can hardly be inferred from the analogy of heathen religious bodies, which undoubtedly helped to furnish the communities with the forms under which they lived; the nature of the leadership must rather have resulted from their own necessities. Both societies had certainly this in common, that, resting on an entirely voluntary union, they also granted equal rights to all the members, and that these mutually supported each other. For the rest, however, the distinction is to be found not merely in the wholly different cultus, but also in the infinitely greater reach of the ethical and social aims of Christianity. The cultus itself was here a continuous spiritual intercourse, and the aim of the society embraced the whole life of

its members. First and foremost, certain services, which lead to an ecclesiastical office, were called for by the requirements of the meetings. Under this head we have the procuring of the room and its fittings, of the sacred writings, of the provisions for the Lord's Supper and of the means of baptism, and the preservation of the documents which belonged to the Church. The meetings themselves required some one to preside, both for the order of the addresses and communications, and for the resolutions of the community. Further, the intercourse of the adherents outside of the meetings could only be maintained, especially in large cities, and between town and country, by the services of individuals. These ministrations necessarily led frequently of themselves to the imparting of exhortation, encouragement, and admonition, and the ministry could not but therefore acquire a higher significance.

Now all that we can gather incidentally from Paul as to this ministry in the Church points to its not having followed the institution of an office; it everywhere arose historically; the men who were first converted not only took an active part in bringing the Church together, but continued their activity in maintaining it. Hence it follows that it was possible for the relationship to present many aspects, differing in accordance with circumstances —the number of the leading men, the sphere of their labours, and the extent of their influence—that it was based entirely on good will on both sides, while yet the execution of the work was in the long run attached to definite individuals, and in essential respects necessarily assumed a similar form everywhere.

In 1 Thessalonians Paul says (v. 12): 'We beg you, brethren, to recognise those who conduct your affairs, and preside over you in the Lord, and admonish you, and to esteem them very highly in love for their work's sake.' The words *προϊστάμενοι ὑμῶν ἐν κυρίῳ* can only be referred to presidents of the Church. They do not, however, give the title of an appointed office, but describe a form of activity, following upon the preceding one of painstaking for the Church, *οἱ κοπιῶντες ἐν ὑμῖν*. This

painstaking might either be the ministry of the word (as in 1 Cor. xv. 10; Gal. iv. 11), or the providing for material wants (so Rom. xvi. 6, 12). In any case it applied to the founding and holding together of the Church (cf. 1 Cor. xvi. 16). Those who took part in it became the natural leaders, and their exhortation of the brethren was the natural sequel of their initial work. The following exhortation in 1 Thessalonians starts (v. 14) with the duties of the presidents, but it passes on (ver. 15) to the general duties of the members of the Church. This also conveys that the presidents were what they were simply through the voluntary fulfilment of brotherly duties, while similarly the admonition that the Church should behave well to them shows that they possessed no authority except that due to mutual love.

Paul had occasion in 1 Corinthians to name (i. 14-16) the individuals whom he had baptized in Corinth, necessarily at his first visit. After Crispus and Gaius he mentions, subsequently, the house of Stephanas; he was on the point of forgetting the latter because the fact was self-evident. For this household was (xvi. 15) the firstfruits in Achaia. When he wrote the letter, Stephanas, and with him Fortunatus and Achaicus, probably slaves or freedmen of the former, were with the Apostle in Ephesus, and atoned for his then want of personal intercourse with the Church. Paul took advantage of their presence to write ver. 15 f.: 'I exhort you, brethren,—you know the house of Stephanas, that it is the firstfruits of Achaia, and that they have set themselves to minister to the saints—that you be also in subjection to such and to every one who assists in the work and labours among you.' According to this there were a number of people who were to be regarded as superintendents in the Church. The claim was based on their having been the first to believe and on their maintaining the Church by their ministry. The Apostle's exhortation shows accordingly that here again it was not a question of an office that had been instituted, but of a relationship that had grown out of facts, a relationship founded constantly on voluntary work, and dependent on the goodwill of the community.

It proves also, however, from another point of view, that the Apostle was not seeking at that moment to establish a new feature. As the work of these men was already an actual fact, and went back to the very origin of the Church, so the corresponding subjection to them—inseparable from the government itself—was in existence. We are dealing not with a new feature, but with a usage that was to be insisted on afresh. This usage may have recently been weakened and called in question through the growth of the Church and internal events; the community had lost its family character, the relationship its directness; it was thus necessary that the latter should be consciously resumed, for the sake of the cause. Anything else Paul's words do not affirm. The Apostle takes us to Corinth in Romans xvi. 1 f., where he describes a woman, Phœbe, as *οὖσαν διάκονον τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐν Κεγχρειαῖς*, a servant of the congregation in the Corinthian port of Cenchreae. He declares in praise of her, that she had been patroness, *προστάτις*, to himself, as well as to many others. The title here given her did not signify an office entrusted with the care of the poor; she was the servant of the Church itself, and her labours must have been essentially similar to those of Stephen and his companions. Cenchreae had a congregation of its own; visitors to Corinth from the East landed there, and it was their point of departure. This intercourse with strangers and the hospitality which it called for are alluded to in the Apostle's praise of Phœbe.

The relations existing in Ephesus, as they appear from Phœbe's letter of introduction (Rom. xvi. 3-16), wholly agree with the rest of our observations. Owing to outward circumstances the Church possessed a number of different congregations, which were yet so closely connected that the letter applied to the whole community. The separate congregations had, however, special superintendents. The first meeting-place was the house of Aquilas and Prisca (Rom. xvi. 5; cf. 1 Cor. xvi. 19). In this case there is no doubt as to the superintendent. Two congregations are mentioned (xvi. 14, 15), at the head of each of which stood

five men round whom the brethren or saints had gathered. Two further groups (xvi. 10, 11) have each a leader. It is manifest that all these congregations had a leader or president; but here we have marked evidence of the absolute variety of the form assumed, it being everywhere dependent on circumstances, on the history of the congregation.

In Romans xii. 8 Paul implies the existence of superintendents in the Roman Church under the same name as in Thessalonica, viz., προϊστάμενος. This occurs in an exhortation to unity through self-restraint, which wholly corresponds to that in 1 Corinthians, and is founded like the latter on the idea of the Church as the body of Christ, and the different purposes and gifts of the members (Rom. xii. 3-5). The Apostle then enumerates such gifts, χαρίσματα, adding in each case (the connecting particles being κατὰ and ἐν) the attendant grace, χάρις (ver. 6-8). This grace might consist in the standard of action, *e.g.* the ἀναλογία τῆς πίστεως for prophecy—or in the opening for the ministry, its occasion itself—*e.g.* διακονία, διδασκαλία, παράκλησις—or in the disposition—ἁπλότης, σπουδὴ, ἱλαρότης. The χαρίσματα, the gifts, were: prophecy, ministry, teaching, exhortation, giving, ruling, compassionateness. So far as we can perceive, the Apostle has not here given a list of types ranked on an equal footing, but, his treatment being perfectly free, has proceeded from the general to the particular, the diaconate, in particular, being first given as a species of gift, and then divided into parts. These constituted the sphere of action for the benefit of the community as contrasted with the ministrations of the Word through prophecy, teaching, and exhortation. To the active ministries belonged giving, probably contributing to Church purposes, leading, or superintendentship, and the exercise of charity to the poor. Here, again, the manner in which 'the leaders' are brought forward reflects not only the conception of their position as a voluntary ministry, but also that of its connection with labours on behalf of the Church.

Before we pass on to the letter to Philippi and the community there, we have to examine the question as to the exis-

tence of a diaconate. The words, *διακονεῖν, διακονία, διάκονος*, have a very wide significance in the language of Paul and the Gospels. They are applied to the vocation of Jesus (Rom. xv. 8 [Gal. ii. 17] Matt. xx. 28); then in the Apostolic Church to all ministries which emanated from *χαρίσματα*, and evinced themselves in 'mighty workings,' *ἐνεργήματα* (1 Cor. xii. 6), or to practical ministrations as distinguished from those of the word (Rom. xii. 7); and in the temporal sphere to the office of the magistrate as *θεοῦ διάκονος* (Rom. xiii. 4). When applied specially to the Church three ministrations can be distinguished: first the term is used of the Apostolate (Rom. xi. 13; 1 Cor. iii. 5; 2 Cor. iii. 3, 6-9, iv. 1, v. 18, vi. 3 f., xi. 3, 15, 23; 1 Thess. iii. 2; [Matt. xx. 26, par. Acts i. 17, 25, xx. 24, xxi. 19; 1 Tim. i. 12; 2 Tim, iv. 5]); secondly of the first leaders of the Church (1 Cor. xvi. 15) corresponding to their *κοπιᾶν* (cf. Rev. ii. 19); and thirdly of the dispensing of charity (Rom. xv. 25, 31; 2 Cor. viii. 4, ix. 1, 12 f. [Acts xi. 29, xii. 25]). The above discussed title *διάκονος*, given to Phœbe in Romans xvi. 1, belongs to the second and third use. In all this, therefore, we do not find in Paul a special office of deacon, either in the sense of a ministry to the poor, or in its later application to the combined duties of assisting in Divine service and caring for the poor. The appointment of deacons in Jerusalem, as related in Acts vi. 1 ff., was due to a special occasion and purpose, and gives us no right to assume a lasting and more general office of this nature.

Now, however, in addition to the whole of the above, we have further to consider the inscription of the letter to the Philippians (i. i). It is addressed 'to the saints in Christ Jesus who are in Philippi with the overseers (bishops) and ministers (deacons) *σὺν ἐπισκόποις καὶ διακόνοις*.' The two titles, bishops and deacons, as well as the admission of officials of the Church into the address of a letter, are unique; the doubts caused by these features and the question raised as to the authenticity of the letter are thoroughly well founded. This doubt is, however, dispelled, on finding, first, that the letter, like all Paul's other epistles, is, in the

rest of it, directly addressed to the whole Church, and, secondly, that the special exhortations (iv. 2 f.) disclose several congregations and their leaders existing in the very same relations as we discover in the rest of the Pauline communities. Here especially the existence of an ecclesiastical constitution with fixed offices is precluded, and therefore also the interpretation of the inscription to that effect. We are rather led to explain the terms in the inscription in the light of the more general relations. From all that may be gathered from the other letters regarding the superintendents, they might be called ἐπίσκοποι as well as διάκονοι, according as we looked at the one or the other side of their functions. Now if the two terms are here met with side by side, and therefore cannot signify the same individuals, the conjecture is at least natural that, while both grades sprang from the same sphere of work, the one rose in time to the higher authority of overseers or leaders, while the activity of the others was permanently restricted to the rendering of practical assistance. Since the letter to Philippi is the latest written by Paul, and on the other hand applied to one of his oldest Churches planted in Greek territory, this variety in development is perfectly natural.

It is self-evident that the men now called ἐπίσκοποι took part, afterwards as before, in the material rendering of help which is comprehended in the κοπιᾶν; but the distinguishing feature, which now gave them a higher position, must quite as certainly have lain in the development of another activity, that implied (1 Thess. v. 12) in the duty of exhortation and (1 Cor. xvi. 16) in the call to obedience (cf. Heb. xiii. 17; Acts xx. 28). And to this the term ἐπίσκοπος itself also points. Its use by the Greeks in political and corporate life shows that it meant supervision of men as well as of things. But we find the former application, indeed, in the Hellenistic idiom, in the LXX. (Isaiah lx. 17). So also 1 Macc. i. 51 (cf. 2 Macc. v. 22) and in Josephus *Ant.* x. 4, 1; xii. 5, 4. The application of the word to God also emanated from this quarter (Wisdom i. 6); Christ Himself then received from

Christians the name of ἐπίσκοπος of souls (1 Peter ii. 25), and the Apostolic office was designated as ἐπισκοπή (Acts i. 20). It is not in our power to state more precisely how this characteristic designation became a kind of title. But its use in Phil. i. 1 does not in any case compel us to go beyond the general lines of the relations of the superintendents to be perceived in the Pauline letters.

And this result holds true of the age as a whole. For, and it is the only additional passage that can be referred to this matter, the angels of the seven Churches (Rev. ii. 1, κ.τ.λ.) are not really relevant. They were, from i. 16, 20, spirits, and as such always personified the Church.

The earliest statement as to the origin of the ecclesiastical office dating from the post-Apostolic period is, if rightly understood, perfectly consistent with all that we learn from the Pauline epistles. Clemens Romanus says (xlii. 4): 'The Apostles preached in the country and in cities, and they appointed their firstfruits, having tested them by the Spirit, to be ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι of them that should believe'; and he supplements this by adding (xliv. 1) that they took this precaution since they foresaw that there would be a dispute concerning this title of the ἐπισκοπή, and that for the same reason they made further provision for a regular appointment after the death of the first holders of office. The essential point in this statement is that the members of the Church first converted also became its first leaders; and it thus describes the natural course of events in the development of the institution. The additional idea of the author, that it was effected by a formal ordination on each occasion by the Apostles, cannot supersede the above fact; for his conception was indispensable to him in order to establish the irrefragable authority of the bishops; it was necessary that they should have been appointed by the Apostles, as the Apostles had been by Christ, and Christ by God (xlii. 1).

SECTION III.—THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT

§ 1. *Presbyters and Bishops*

We can only here discuss the constitution of the Churches in the immediately succeeding period, in so far as it is calculated to reflect light on the Apostolic age. The sketch which we have thus far obtained for that age from our sources of the first rank is perfectly distinct, and in harmony with the natural run of things. It is obscured, partly by the divergent representation given by the sources of the second rank, partly by the fact that it was deemed necessary in various ways to carry back the institutions of the post-Apostolic period into the earlier time, or, at any rate, to find in the latter their elements and explanation. It is in this post-Apostolic period that the difficulty of attaining historical knowledge arises, not only by reason of defective sources, but plainly also because the new period sought to do justice to new tasks in a variety of ways. Rare must be the inquirer to whom this time has not appeared in different aspects. Let us here try merely to determine what may serve to guard against false ideas regarding the Apostolic age.

The superintendents of that period did not yet involve the existence of a complete and stereotyped ecclesiastical office, but they did involve a relationship from which the latter might, and under certain circumstances could not but, arise. The further historical development, which produced this office, is therefore in any case a touchstone for our review of the conditions prevailing in that earliest time. It is all the more necessary, however, to refer to it for this purpose, since it very soon brings before us a grade—that of the elders, the *πρεσβύτεροι*—of which our oldest authorities say nothing, and which is yet very frequently regarded as the starting-point of the whole development of the ecclesiastical constitution. In addition to those of elders, and *ἐπίσκοποι*, we come in the transition period upon another title, that of the *ἡγούμενοι* (Heb. xiii. 7, 17, 24), the leaders, but this is only another

name for the ἐπίσκοποι; its use merely proves that the latter designation only gradually attained exclusive recognition, as the office itself assumed a fixed form. For the rest, we have to do, in the sources of the next period, with presbyters and bishops, and we have therefore to determine the relationship of the two grades. Now, the old traditional view, that the bishops and presbyters were absolutely identical, does not stand examination. It is only so far correct, that the former were chosen from the presbyters, and did not constitute an essentially higher order. But, however much appearances may be in its favour, the opinion is questionable that the same men are called sometimes presbyters, and sometimes bishops.

In discussing the Apostolic appointment of the officials of the Church, Clemens Romanus mentions bishops and deacons (xlii.), or the former alone, ἐπισκοπὴ (xliv.); of presbyters there is not a word. Now it undoubtedly appears as if the bishops were also designated by the latter title. For, in reference to the contemporaneous disturbances in Corinth, the πρεσβύτεροι are declared happy who had already finished their course, and were no longer in danger of being thrust from their place. And when, in the recurrent discussion of the question of the day in Corinth (liv. and lvii.), the members of the Church are exhorted to be at peace with, and to obey, the ordained authorities, these are not termed bishops, but presbyters. Yet a doubt is raised as to the natural conclusion from this, when we see (iii.) that the reprehensible rising in Corinth is described as an insurrection of the young, the νέοι, against the old, the πρεσβύτεροι. And if it be urged that the matter is here regarded from another point of view, is explained as a rising of the young against the old, and that the latter, therefore, are not the καθεσταμένοι πρεσβύτεροι of chap. liv., but the aged, it is certainly not easy to conceive the authorities of the Church and the whole of the other members being contrasted with each other as the old and the young. But the description of the earlier prosperous state of the Corinthian Church (chap. i.) is decisive; we are told that it 'walked in the

laws of God, subject to the ἡγούμενοι (the leaders)'—by whom again we can only understand the bishops—'showing due honour to its πρεσβύτεροι, while it enjoined the young to cultivate a modest and becoming disposition.' And the same thing recurs in chap. xxi.: 'Reverence for our leaders (προηγούμενοι), honour to the elders, upbringing in the fear of the Lord to the young.' Here, accordingly, we have three classes distinguished, and bishops and presbyters are mentioned side by side. But it is far from probable that here (xxi.), and again in i. and iii., πρεσβύτεροι is used to denote old men, simply because, in a letter in which everything is pointed to the one definite object, such a change in the meaning of the word could only have produced confusion. The change of meaning is, however, precluded, because in all these passages the presbyters appear like the leaders of the Church themselves—only, in the second place—as bearers of a fixed dignity. But in that case there can be the less doubt that they were not identical with the bishops. And if, nevertheless, the bishops are also called presbyters in xliv., liv., lvii., the only explanation is that all bishops were presbyters as well, or were chosen from their number. They therefore remained presbyters; this title was, as it were, the inalienable part even when they ceased to hold office; therefore also the deceased bishops are called presbyters in chap. xliv. But, since the term 'bishop' is alone used in the statement as to the Apostolic appointment of the office, it follows that the presbyters, as such, held no office, but formed a class in the Church. Therefore the opposition to the bishops could also be regarded as a revolt of the young against the old. We have probably also to identify the latter with the ἐλλόγιμοι ἄνδρες, whose (xliv.) duty it was, subject to the assent of the whole Church, to elect the bishops, so that the presbyters had the right both of electing and of being elected, it being understood in the former case that the Church gave its approval.

We can also infer the same state of matters from the Book of Hermas, in which (2 *Vis.* iv. 2 f., and 3 *Vis.* i. 8) the presbyters appear as the privileged class in the Church, again in the second

place as distinguished from the young, the *νεανίσκοι*, although the author is not partial to the former, and attaches more weight to the voice of the prophets. On the other hand, in enumerating the offices of the Church (3 *Vis.* v. 1), apostles, bishops, teachers, and deacons, all whose labours in superintending, teaching, and ministering have earned the gratitude of the Church, he says nothing of the elders; which proves neither more nor less than that their position was not official. Finally, however, the book (3 *Vis.* ix. 7) explicitly names side by side the *προηγούμενοι τῆς ἐκκλησίας* and the *πρωτοκαθεδρῖται*—not those who seek, but those who possess, the first seats. By the former we can only understand the bishops, by the latter the presbyters, and this is confirmed by 3 *Vis.* i. 8 (cf. *Mand.* xi. 12).

The same relationship may further be demonstrated as a fact implied in the Pastoral Epistles, although the first letter to Timothy, which here falls first to be considered along with that to Titus, already cites the antitheses of Marcion by name (1 Tim. vi. 20), and, in its idea of the reception of the charisma for the office through the imposition of hands by the presbytery (iv. 14) reveals an advanced conception. The statements of the two letters substantially agree. Now, here also bishops and presbyters seem at first to be distinguished only in name. In the letter to Titus in particular, the appointment of presbyters in the cities of Crete is regulated (i. 5, 7), but the qualities required of them are deduced from what the bishop has to be and to do; and it would therefore seem as if, while the name of presbyter was the honorary title, the other specified the vocation of the same men. The first letter to Timothy gives the same result; for in it the offices are exhausted in the description of the duties of bishop and deacons (iii. 1 ff.); the naming of the bishop in the singular does not prove that there was only one in the Church; it is explained by the personal form of the exhortation. The elders and their rights are then discussed (v. 17 ff.); but both the reward due to them and its justification, given in the predicate *οἱ καλῶς προεστῶτες*, carry our thoughts back to the office of the *ἐπισκοπὴ*

(iii. 1). But on closer examination the distinction becomes evident here also. To those elders whose administration in the office of overseer was praiseworthy a special claim, one to διπλὴ τιμὴ, is awarded (1 Tim. v. 17); the subsequent details (v. 19 f.) refer on the other hand to the rights of all the presbyters, especially to their defence in the case of accusations and errors. With this it also agrees that the bishopric was (iii. 1) an object of special solicitation. It is a sufficient explanation, however, of the qualities required of a presbyter being deduced from a bishop's duties (Tit. i. 7), if the bishops were always chosen from the elders; unless we would suppose indeed that the author in these regulations had only in view such presbyters as exercised the ministry of a bishop.

With these most important witnesses we can compare additional authorities, which, while they do not afford us so precise an insight, yet contain suggestions worthy of our attention. The presbyters, who are never mentioned by Paul, make their appearance frequently in the later canonical writings; thus in the Catholic Epistles (1 Peter v. 1, 5; James v. 14; 2 John 1; 3 John 1), and—outside of the Primitive Church—in the book of Acts (xiv. 23 and xx. 28). Combining the various instances, we find virtually the same relationship as in the above cited books, namely, that the presbyters held the leading position in the Church, and that they are yet not enumerated among those in office. The former point is exemplified in Acts xx. 28, where Paul tells the assembled presbyters of Ephesus that God had appointed them to be overseers in the flock. And the ordination of the presbyters (Acts xiv. 23) can only be understood in the same sense. They occupy a similar position in 1 Peter v. 1-5. No inference can be drawn from the aid which the elders were to give the sick (James v. 14), or from the honorary title of elder in 2 John 1 and 3 John 1. The four and twenty elders of the heavenly Church only indicate analogically that the name signified generally a representation of the Church; the number was apparently due to the doubling of the twelve tribes with reference

to the Gentile Christians. The presbyters, however, have no place in any enumeration of the ecclesiastical offices—old and new—themselves. The letter to the Ephesians is authoritative on this point (iv. 11). In enumerating the offices of the Church, in imitation of 1 Cor. xii. 28, it first repeats those of the Apostles and prophets, but it then adds those of the present: the evangelists, pastors, and teachers. Of these the evangelists were the missionaries, no longer called Apostles, of the period; the pastors, however, held the leading office, the bishops being thought of, after the type of Christ Himself, as pastors, just as He is also regarded (1 Peter ii. 25) as ἐπίσκοπος.

We conclude, therefore, that there existed in the Church in the post-Apostolic age a representative body of presbyters, the title borne by the members being honorary, but that the leading office was vested in the overseers, the bishops of the Church,—and that as a collective body; and that, finally, both grades were connected, since the bishops were chosen from the presbyters. This last point undoubtedly rests only on inferences; it is, however, not to be refuted by a reference to the appointment of deacons to the episcopate in a much later period and under different conditions. Now, if we compare this regulation with the state of matters in the Apostolic age, while the latter with its superintendents (Vorsteher), accounts either for the presbyters or for the bishops, it does not do so for both at once. And since the presbyters are new even in name, our first task is to explain their rise.

§ 2. *Origin and Nature*

What the presbyters were seems in itself hardly open to doubt, for the name gives us a general idea of their nature, and that name we find among the Jews, who applied it to a body, representative of the community, which appointed the rulers as a committee, just as we also find it in the θίασοι of the Greeks, in which the πρεσβύτεροι—the fully enfranchised—contrasted with the νεανίσκοι, and elected the ἄρχων from their ranks. But we have still to

discover in what sense of the name the πρεσβύτεροι of the Christian Churches arose, and what was their relation to the original leaders. Now, if we recall the prerogatives of the Jewish elders, the least likely explanation is that the Christian order was transferred from the Jewish. For these prerogatives, as has been mentioned above, had an origin and extent to which there is nothing to correspond in the Christian community. At the most, accordingly, so far as the Jews are concerned, it could only be a question of borrowing a current name. In any case the parallel corresponds much more closely that we find in the corporate life of the Greeks, with the distinctions denoted by the grades of membership. From this point of view are explained the authority and prerogatives of the πρεσβύτεροι, as well as the subordination of the νέοι, who (Clem. Rom. i. 3, iii. 3, xxi. 6) are also contrasted with the former as a class in the community. The distinction between the two orders refers accordingly to the Church life, and has nothing directly to do with age. The presbyters were, as a class, those who had adhered longer to the Church, and had proved their worth in it.

A linguistic usage which occurs frequently in the second century may serve, if not to prove, yet to confirm this conception. At a time when the technical application of the word πρεσβύτερος to the order of elders had long been in use in the Church, the term designated preeminently the authorities for the tradition, the survivors of the preceding generation. Our earliest witness to this is Papias of Hierapolis, whose object it was to learn what the Apostles and erewhile disciples of the Lord had told concerning His words; this, however, he could only arrive at by the agency of the πρεσβύτεροι, and he had therefore to inquire what had been, or was still, related by them (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 39). In quite the same way Irenæus regarded a πρεσβύτερος as the voucher for doctrinal tradition; for by him he understands a μαθητὴς τῶν ἀποστόλων (*Haer.* ii. **22**, 5, iv. **27**, 1, 2, **30**, 14, **32**, 1, v. **5**, 1, **33**, 3, **36**, 1). For this very reason the bishops are also called πρεσβύτεροι (iii. **2**, 1, **3**, 1), in so far as they in succession to one

another vouched for the tradition, and thus reached back into the preceding age—doing accordingly what the disciples of the Apostles had done.

This linguistic usage, accordingly, shows us in any case that the idea of authority was associated with the name of the πρεσβύτεροι, and it agrees in this very respect with the essential import of the same title as applied to the higher order in the Church. It is perfectly possible, though not capable of proof, that the title had not been invented in the latter sense at the transition from the first to the second generation, the survivors of the former constituting the group of authoritative individuals in the Church, and that group being gradually recruited to form the class of the elders, therefore the καθεσταμένοι πρεσβύτεροι (Clem. Rom. liv.). The reverence paid to tradition, however, certainly gave rise to the rule that the presidents (Vorsteher) could only be chosen from the circle of those who represented it.

It is to be assumed with regard to the presidency, the ecclesiastical office proper, that it possessed substantially the same prerogatives as the original leadership (Vorsteheramt), as long as the exercise of the teaching function in the Church was unrestricted. It first obtained an essentially different character when it appropriated the authority to teach. This, however, did not occur to any great extent in the post-Apostolic period. The bishops are not yet the teachers of the Church in Clemens Romanus. The Book of Hermas has prophets and teachers along with the bishops, and so also the letter to the Ephesians has teachers along with pastors. On the other hand, the position has become different from that in the Pauline age. Even apart from the addition of new functions, the authority of the presidents could not but increase, after there were no longer Apostles, and the Churches were left to themselves. And therewith passed away at once the voluntariness and revocableness of this ecclesiastical office; these attributes no longer appeared suitable to its purpose, no longer corresponded to the feeling of the age. We find this transition in Clemens Romanus. The revolt against the occupants

of the office in Corinth proves that there still existed in the Church a recollection of the earliest period, in which the recognition of the presidents depended from hour to hour on the approval of the members. But Clement, who on the contrary proclaimed the principle of the life-long tenure of the office, had certainly the predominant view of his contemporaries on his side. The demand, however, proved at the same time that the prestige of the episcopate had actually increased.

Like the presidents in the earliest period, the bishops provided for and conducted the Divine service of the congregation; hence in Clement of Rome the λειτουργεῖν, προσφέρειν τὰ δῶρα (xliv.). But as from the beginning and onwards the presidents were those who by their labours gathered and held the Church together, and whose exhortations the members were to obey, so the spiritual leadership and moral oversight now constituted their vocation much more definitely and formally. They were the ἡγούμενοι, to whom the Church was subject (Clem. Rom. 1; cf. Heb. xiii. 7, 17); and the veneration paid them, like the view held of their office, was founded on their having been ordained by the Apostles as the latter had been by Christ. The essential character of this episcopal office consisted therefore in the Divine delegation to the spiritual leadership of the Church. And this is historically reflected in Clement in the revolt which occurred in Corinth; for the rising was based on the assertion of a special spiritual endowment which was held to be higher than that represented by the occupants of the office. The title of pastor (Eph. iv. 11) also points to the possession by the bishops of this spiritual leadership. And again, while the Book of Hermas (*Sim.* ix. 27) has given the care of the neglected and widows as the test of the bishops, their designation of προηγούμενοι (3 *Vis.* ix. 7) already proves that they had to lead the Church as such. And in the enumeration of the offices of bishops, teachers, and deacons, to the bishop is assigned, not only as distinguished from teaching but also from διακονεῖν, the ἐπισκοπεῖν, the oversight of the Church, as the highest ministry in it. With this the Pastoral Epistles also agree.

The qualities required (1 Tim. iii. 1 ff.) of a bishop are for the most part, indeed, of a general moral character—those befitting the holder of any ecclesiastical office. But the leading point of view is indicated (iii. 4) by the charge that he has to act for the Church like the father of a family who keeps his children obedient and well-behaved. And in Titus i. 9, the charge conveying sound doctrine is described as the chief duty of the office; the bishop is (i. 7) the *οἰκονόμος θεοῦ* in the sense that he has to govern the *ἐκκλησία θεοῦ*.

After Clemens Romanus, as before him in Phil. i. 1, the conjunction of bishops and deacons is also common; these two constituted the offices in the Church. The deacons were the assistants in Divine service and in the care of the poor; they were under the bishops. According to Clemens Romanus (xliv.), the diaconate was instituted as well as the episcopate by the Apostles. The business of the deacons, as also the relation existing between the two offices, is implied in the view that they correspond to the Levites as their type in the priestly order (xl). In the Book of Hermas (*Vis.* iii. 5) they constitute the lowest office, being divided from the bishops by the teachers; it appears from *Sim.* ix. 26 that they were entrusted with the care of the widows and orphans. This vocation can be recognised in 1 Tim. iii. 8 ff., where we also observe its subordination to the episcopate.

§ 3. *The Office of Teacher*

The unrestricted teaching of the Apostolic age, in the forms of prophecy and instruction proper, maintained its ground still longer. At times it grew dangerous to ecclesiastical authority, as at Corinth, when it occasioned Clement to intervene with his letter in support of the episcopate. The Book of Hermas is less favourable to the latter, and delights to contrast it with prophecy in picturing the ideal of the past. But the freedom of the Apostolic Age was no longer possible. It was then a case of necessity and self-preservation, if the holders of office took the teaching more

and more into their own hands. The transition is indicated in the significant hint (1 Tim. v. 17) as to the special merit of those presbyters (bishops) who were in a position to appeal to their exertions in word and teaching. But this change led also to a transformation in the episcopate itself, to the development of the monarchical episcopate. From the beginning, since ever the presidents obtained their fixed position, there was, indeed, a leader among the bishops. It is also conceivable that his prerogatives developed of themselves. But it is not in this that we find the great change of the subsequent period, but in the fact that the others disappear, and the first continue alone to be, and to be called, ἐπίσκοπος. And the only explanation is that the predominant duty of teaching came to be reserved exclusively to the office. The same want as had this result then led also to the limitation to a single person; for only thus could the true doctrine and unity be guaranteed. The Pastoral Epistles reveal the transition here also. Above the presbyter-bishops of the constitution till then prevailing, they set, like types for future times, those commissioned by the Apostles, who as such possessed a higher title. Thus the Apostle sends Timothy to Ephesus to take up his lasting seat there (1 Tim. i. 3), as his confidant, his child (i. 2, 18; cf. 2 Tim. i. 2), to whom he had imparted by the imposition of hands the χάρισμα τοῦ θεοῦ, which he, Timothy, had also (before this time) received through the laying on of hands by the presbytery (1 Tim. iv. 14). In like manner, Titus was appointed in Crete (Titus i. 5), and charged with the supreme leadership.

This elevation of the foremost to be the sole bishop was accompanied by the limitation of the title to him; the others remained, what they were in any case, presbyters. But the next consequence was the limitation of the number of presbyters, and their change from a class, or representation of the Church, to an office. The recognition of a presbyter as such had already been customary, but it now grew into a formal appointment. In this way we arrive at the three offices of bishop, presbyters, and deacons, as we find them in the Ignatian Letters. That the presbyters stood

next the bishop and above the deacons follows from the whole development. But even yet they had no such definite duties attached to their vocation as the bishop on the one hand and the deacons on the other. And, therefore, where we are told of the action of the office-holders in the Church, while the two latter appear, we have no mention of the presbyters, as in Justin Martyr and in the Didache of the Twelve Apostles.[1]

[1] [In the foregoing discussion the word *Vorsteher* occurs frequently. As applied to the primitive period, when ecclesiastical offices were as yet undifferentiated, it is difficult to find for it an equivalent in English that shall not say more than is meant. To avoid this various words have been used, such as superintendent, leader, president. The word might be literally rendered headman, foremost man, or foreman.—ED.]

CHAPTER III

ETHICS

Introductory

CHRISTIANITY is preeminently an ethical religion. This means not only that the God it believes in is a moral being, but also that the worship rendered to Him lies in the sphere of the moral life, that accordingly it is above all a matter of the disposition, nay, that it lays claim to the whole man and all his actions. But Christianity is and remains a religion, and is therefore never wholly merged in moral principles and doctrines. It made its way at first, not as a new ethical theory, but as a religion, as faith, and the moral reformation which it thereby effected is only conceivable in connection with that faith. In that connection alone did it exert its influence, and make its way.

At this point, however, two prejudices may at once be repelled. First and foremost, we are not justified in associating with the notion of these religious ethics the idea that the distinctive morality of the followers of this faith was merged in their religion, or consisted virtually in religious practices and customs. Christianity at its appearance did not assume the aspect of an order; it by no means forced its followers into a particular religious rule of life. It was on the very absence of any such institution that its fitness for universality and the world-compelling power of its moral teaching rested from the beginning. We are as little justified in associating with the religious character of its ethical doctrines what passes under the name of heteronomic morality. The subjection

of the springs of morality to an alien power, or their origin in the anticipation of reward and punishment, are features which do not harmonise with the beginnings of the ethical theory and practice of the Christians. The will to which the believer submits has already through faith become his own, and the reward is not the object, the aim, of his intention; it is rather the necessary consequence, and is already present. The whole morality of the New Testament starts from the possession of a spiritual good; the only question is its verification, its exhibition, and therein the more and more complete appropriation of the blessing.

In our historical contemplation of this period the moral teaching does not admit of separation from the morality itself, the result in the life. We are perfectly entitled to speak of an ethical theory on the part of Jesus; but it can never be understood unless it is considered in the closest connection with His own life and its immediate effect. And in the Apostolic age it was the fact itself, the development of the life, which created an ethical doctrine. The historical matter of this period falls into three divisions which represent the stages of the historical development. First, we are concerned with the morality of the Primitive Church which was occupied in continuing the life of Jesus and the living tradition that emanated from His time, but for that very reason on the same soil, within the pale of Judaism. This is followed by the new world of Gentile Christianity, the Pauline period, with wholly novel demands and applications. Then in the third place, we have the offshoots of these two divisions which, belonging to the close of the age, and sometimes ranging beyond it, represent, for the most part, the new development of a common possession.

SECTION I.—JEWISH CHRISTIANITY

For the earliest beginnings, the Christianity of the Jewish primitive Church, we are led first to turn to the Acts as almost

the only source that relates them. But this source yields us little. It shows us the believers in Jerusalem as a praying fraternity (i. 14), having separated from the rest of the nation because the latter was a false generation (ii. 40). For the rest, they remained attached to the national sanctuary, the temple (ii. 46, iii. 1), and gratefully and simply accepted their food which they shared in common. That the believers observed all the directions of Jewish religion for everyday life is implied in the negotiations regarding the Gentile Christians (xv.). At the death of Stephen the lament is made for the dead (viii. 2); Peter is in the habit of eating clean food alone (x. 14; Gal. ii. 11 ff.). And in still later times we have an account of the practice of taking a vow, and of its ceremonial discharge (xxi. 23 ff.). The most distinctive feature of the earlier period is the community of goods among the associates in the faith, a feature which is yet only to be regarded as a self-sacrificing support of the poor by those who possessed means.

Significant as are these hints of the Acts, they do not by any means furnish a sufficient view of the manners and morals of believers, and of the principles which prevailed among them. We are therefore led to look for other sources. These we find in the Synoptic Gospels; for the sayings of Jesus received into them sprang from this community. They were accepted and preserved by it as utterances of the Lord. Therefore in them we in any case possess substantially what was regarded as constituting a binding rule of life in this earliest Church. This constitution would not have held its ground so long, if it had not possessed such a significance. At the same time we are constantly reminded that the disciples of Jesus continued to live after His death in essentially the same relations as those in which they had lived along with Him; they were still within the pale of Judaism and under the law.

§ 1. *Law and Gospel*

In this very first question that here comes before us, we find ourselves justified in borrowing from the source of the Gospels,

and that in opposition to the conception of the author of the Acts. The indications of the latter would require us to imagine the Primitive Church much more bound up in Judaism than, according to the Gospels, Jesus Himself was. His avowed enemies, the Pharisees, become absolutely patrons of the Apostolic community, and the only serious collision, that in the case of Stephen, rests on a false charge. But the very events in the history of the Primitive Church which the Acts requires to relate carry us beyond its own conception, and furnish us with evidence that we obtain a more correct estimate of the position of the Primitive Church from the directions of Jesus in the Gospels. The alternation in the treatment of the believers by the Jews, between toleration and persecution, between hostility and patronage, suggests that the writer no longer knew what to make of the matter. And this is best explained if we suppose that the Apostolic community itself clung to precept and precedent, that it accordingly reverenced the law, and yet based life on a new foundation which, however, was not another law.

The disciples had learned from Jesus Himself to regard the law as a civil code (Matt. v. 17-19; Luke xvi. 17; Matt. v. 22, xxiii. 3, 23), to keep the temple holy (Matt. xxi. 12), to accept the continuance of sacrifice (Matt. v. 23), and in short to designate a disreputable life as lawlessness (Matt. vii. 23, xiii. 41, xxiii. 28). The commandments of the Decalogue remained for them the way to eternal life (Matt. xix. 17), and the greatest commandment was to be derived from the book of the law (Matt. xxii. 34 ff.). Upon it rested also the confident expectation that the Apostles would judge the people of Israel (Matt. xix. 28 ff. [xx. 20 f.] Mark x. 35 ff.); the nation could only be tried by its law.

But Jesus had in a series of questions indicated another way, another judgment. He never attacked the authority of the law itself, but only that of the teaching regarding the law and of the additions made to it. Yet He at the same time expressed views which admitted only a passing value to certain of the commandments, and placed above them other and loftier aims and inten-

tions. He passsed judgment like a prophet upon the empty service of the law, but with a freedom which carries us beyond the whole dispensation at all points. Thus His disciples learned also to regard sacrifice without character as worthless (Matt. ix. 13, xii. 7; Mark xii. 33), unconscientious consecration of gifts as condemnable (Matt. xv. 5), and defilement by food as not affecting moral purity (Matt. xv. 11). They had learned to gauge fasting solely by its appropriateness to the mood (Matt. vi. 16 ff., ix. 14 ff.), to subordinate the observance of the Sabbath and consecration of the temple to higher demands of a moral nature (Matt. xii. 1 ff., 9 ff., xii. 6), and to regard the rule of divorce as a mere concession to the hardheartedness of men, a concession not involved in the idea of creation itself. Throughout there stands something higher than the demand and observance of the law. Mercy is higher than sacrifice, inner purity than that of the law of food, beneficence than the Sabbath, inviolable union than the legal regulation of divorce. They learned in many instances, as *e.g.* in the purification of the leper (Mark, i. 44; Matt. viii. 4; cf. also Matt. xvii. 24 ff.), that the sole value of the observance of the legal ordinance was to spare prejudices. The authorities, from whom we cannot separate in our thoughts the legal religion of the time, had besides ceased to exist for them (Matt. xxiii. 8-10). And Jesus had not shrunk from declaring openly that His teaching did not admit of any compromise or fusion with the old order, that, as He says in the parables of the torn garment and the old wine-skin (Matt. ix. 16 ff.), every attempt of this sort would only produce a frail piece of patchwork. All this laid the foundation for the conviction, which, from Gal. ii. 16, we must attribute to Peter, the typical representative of this teaching of his Lord, that the observance of the law, however complete, was not sufficient to make a man just. This did not yet amount to saying that he was to give it up. But it did imply that he could not by it reach the goal of life.

For the Jews of that time the law was the sum of the whole sacred dispensation of God; it was itself the object of the highest

adoration. The observance of its precepts was no longer the fulfilment of the will of God, but a service of the law itself, which had thrust itself like a Divine mediator between God and His people. Hence the fundamental trait of perversion side by side with whatever noble fruits the moral spirit of the religion still produced. This very sovereignty of the law Jesus destroyed for His disciples; He opened up a new world to them, He created another foundation, one of faith, for all moral conduct. They belonged not to the law, but to God Himself, in an inner union emanating from Him, which laid claim to the whole man, and roused all his powers for a never-ceasing endeavour in the spirit of freedom. They lived in the certainty of the Kingdom of Heaven, which they possessed in this union, and which was certified to them by their faith in Jesus and all their experience of Him.

§ 2. *The Kingdom of God*

Manifold sayings of Jesus must have continually confirmed them in the above circle of ideas, and set the new view of things in their full light. He had described the Kingdom of God as the whole content of His message (Matt. x. 7). Praying and striving for it stood at the head of their task (Matt. vi. 10, 33). It involved righteousness, which consisted, not in honouring God by definite actions, but in yielding one's-self, one's whole being, to Him (vi. 24). The disciple knew that he was to be like this God himself, that, as His child, he was to be perfect like God (v. 48). That was the goal disclosed by the decisive words of Jesus (Matt. vii. 24), which only in comparison with the old order could be called a yoke—but easy, a burden—but light (xi. 29 f.). From Him came the forgiveness of sins; they had experienced His influence as a rescue and a call (Matt. xviii. 12, xxi. 28, xxii. 1 ff.). Love to Him, unconditional adherence, was the natural consequence (Matt. x. 37).

The essence of their Gospel is expressed in this, that they had received the assurance they would be given, and potentially had

been already given, all the greatness and splendour that were to be realised in them. The Spirit of God was to make Himself known to them as a gift and a power (Matt. x. 20, xii. 32). A series of types and similes expressed this relationship. The cause, the potency existed; it developed as with natural force. The house is founded (Matt. vii. 24), the seed sown (xiii. 1 ff.), the inner eye, the heart, is illuminated (vi. 21 f.); then it is as with a tree which produces the fruits of its species (vii. 17, xii. 33 [iii. 10]). Hence the only constitution contemplated is personal, one whose fundamental features are devotion and receptiveness; the minors, the children, are its subjects (Matt. xi. 25, xviii. 3). In the Beatitudes of the Sermon on the Mount those are called first and foremost who are poor in spirit, meek, sorrowful, and who hunger after righteousness. The model prayer perfectly represents this mood. The features of the latter are brevity in prayer (Matt. vi. 5-8, vii. 7-11), yet certainty that requests would receive the highest fulfilment (xvii. 20, xviii. 19, xxi. 22), and calm confidence in carrying out one's vocation (Matt. vi. 25-32, x. 28-31, viii. 23-27, x. 20).

It is impossible to imagine this faith, when it existed at all, failing to impart its definite colouring to moral thought and conduct; and this explains how such a powerful ethical reform was inaugurated, without a new legislation or comprehensive ethical theory. Most of the precepts received by the disciples from the lips of Jesus, and kept by them, are occasional and unconnected with a general system. They indicate the direction and spirit in which the disciple was to find his own way. What pervades the whole is the absolute, the goal of perfection; he who understood that could not but find his way anywhere. At times this method is expressed by means of hyperbole, as the symbol for the aspiration that is never satisfied with its efforts. Throughout it is only the heights, the loftiest tasks, that are brought prominently before us.

In spite of this it is perfectly possible to obtain a complete view of the conduct of the members of this Jewish Christian community.

If they lived even to some extent in conformity with their Master's precepts, there was little in their actions to draw attention to them, or to give any offence. The only respect in which they refused to do what was considered by others to be a duty, and therefore isolated themselves, was in declining to take an oath (Matt. v. 34-37). Even the confession of their faith, or of Jesus, was certainly not made in a way to challenge others. It was only declared outside their communion, when it was wrung from them (x. 26, 32); otherwise their confession was to consist solely in the example of their upright life (Matt. v. 13-16, v. 10). For the rest, this whole life was on a plan only adapted to a fraternity which desired nothing at all from the world except toleration, and which lived in the expectation that extraordinary events would soon transform all things, and realise their loftiest ideas. The religio-civic righteousness which prevailed among the Jews underlay the teaching of Jesus Himself, and it continued to be taken for granted in His Church. This is expressed in references to the Decalogue, like Matt. xix. 18 f., in which the indispensable condition of all claims to the Kingdom of God or a future life is stated. The matters here involved consist accordingly of what believers had specially to observe, to some extent of the elements of a higher morality. They can be easily summarised in a few main lines. The outstanding features are freedom from all covetousness, and from anxiety about property or even about food (Matt. vi. 19-21, 25-34), chastity in very thought (v. 28 ff.), along with the holding of marriage to be indissoluble (v. 32; xix. 6), a strict watch over speech (v. 34-37), and above all, unlimited love to a neighbour. Of the last feature Jesus had said expressly that His disciples should be recognised by their extending it to their enemies (Matt. v. 46). This also gave their attitude in times of persecution. They were not to meet enmity with enmity, hate with hate; in face of these they were simply to keep themselves free from blame and entanglement (Matt. x. 16). The exclusiveness, which could not but follow, might only express itself in a prudent rejection of every alien influence (cf. Matt. x. 16, xvi. 6 f.). Here

also the command to love their neighbour remained unlimited: it resembled that to love God (Matt. xxii. 39 par.). And it necessarily impelled the believer both to every kind of beneficence (Matt. vi. 1-4, xviii. 28, xxv. 35 ff.), and the renunciation of all anger, to the endurance of wrong and constant readiness to forgive (Matt. v. 22, 39, vi. 12-15, xviii. 21), to the returning of good for evil (v. 44 ff.), and to efforts thus to conciliate and win the enemy (xviii. 15).

It is unnecessary to explain that these commands of Jesus were not perfectly kept, that it is not under any idea that they were, that we may use them to furnish a sketch of the Primitive Christian Church. But, however defective their observance of them, the disciples formed in any case a quiet and peaceful society, whose nature might be comprehended with difficulty, but which had nothing provocative about it. No one could forecast what was fated to spring from it; and yet it can be strikingly demonstrated, precisely in this moral sphere, how, under the insignificant wrapping, a complete transformation lay concealed. The distinctive mark of the believers in Christ merely looked like an addition to the commandments, an ennobling and purifying of the rule of the pious, law-abiding Jew. In point of fact, it involved principles from which everything contained in the commandments followed of itself; the new morality could subsist without the Decalogue.

§ 3. *The Community*

This distinctive force, which was still hidden, nevertheless asserted itself, even in this earliest period in a certain direction, in the formation and maintenance of a compact, unswerving society. Here we come upon traits which give us a view wholly different from that suggested by those principles of a universally tolerant love to man, an all-renouncing love of peace. The strength of this alliance in the faith did not consist merely in carrying out the principle of absolute equality among the members

(Matt. xxiii. 8 ff., xviii. 6, 10, xx. 14), in the conviction of the worth which every one, even the least among them, possessed in the eyes of God, and by which the duties of all to all were gauged (Matt. xviii. 6, 10, 14). It did not even consist simply in the practical care which each had to expect from the brethren. That strength is above all expressed in the fact that, in accordance with the example of Jesus Himself, all natural ties, even the holiest and dearest, gave way before the duties of the league (Matt. xiii. 53 ff., xii. 46 ff., viii. 22), and that even the deepest and most painful breach resulting from them had to be endured (Matt. x. 21, 35, xix. 29). The rigour of this view corresponded to the power of the faith; without it the continuance of the community would hardly have been conceivable. It counterbalanced the spirit of patient love in individual life. That these two principles existed side by side, and were carried out without any inner contradiction, constitutes an ethical problem, which could be solved only through a conviction that the Kingdom of God had been inaugurated. Just as this denial of natural affections preserved from sinking into weakness, so the higher love that went hand in hand with the denial guarded the thought from fanaticism. Such separations seemed hardly to be felt any longer to be hardships. The only question on which the believers pondered, and for which they sought a guide, was as to where the boundary lay which marked off the faith and the discipleship of Jesus (cf. Matt. xii. 30; Mark ix. 40).

While it cannot be doubted that in the earliest community this spirit constantly supported itself on the instructions, so emphatically transmitted, of Jesus, yet this observation is supplemented by a second. The members continued to live quite as fully and vigorously in the words which foreshadowed and enjoined the highest renunciation, the renunciation of family happiness as well as, generally, of every blessing of this life. No price might be too high to pay for following Jesus—home, property, means, fortune, hope, good name, and, in the end, life itself (Matt. viii. 18-22, xiii. 44 f., xix. 27, xvi. 23, xx. 23,

v. 11, x. 39, xvi. 25 f.). In those days Jesus' prophecy may often enough have been verified, that riches were the greatest barrier on this path (Matt. xix. 23 ff.), a greater even than the rise of sufferings, of persecution (xiii. 21, 22). On the other hand, it was also quite natural to attribute to renunciation as such the value as of a way of salvation, an idea that seems to have been applied in a less degree to poverty (Matt. xix. 21), in a greater already to marriage and the intercourse of the sexes (Matt. xix. 12 [xxiv. 38]). But neither did the sayings of Jesus Himself contain a sure support for this view—as is most clearly shown by Paul's ignorance of anything of the kind (cf. 1 Cor. vii.), nor have we evidence of the oldest morality having gone further in this direction.

Now, if we combine the two sides of this morality, while its fundamental ideal character is by no means lost, the extraordinary energy peculiar to it also emerges. There lived in that peaceful disposition, directed to the highest aims, a power of self-mastery which foreshadowed the capacity to overcome the world. In it already existed all the attributes which in the sequel made these quiet men—serving their God by themselves—objects of hatred, simply because by their aims they severed themselves from all the world. And in the same way it is perfectly explicable that the tolerance which the earliest community enjoyed in Jerusalem could soon change into animosity, and the animosity break forth into persecution. For it could hardly remain concealed, that this society, peaceful as it was, pursued its aims irresistibly, and could not continue within the limits of the life common to the Jews.

Yet they certainly gave no open and immediate offence by their customs to those surrounding them. They seem, according to Matt. xvii. 27, to have paid the temple-tax. And if they also expressed themselves, following the Master's saying, in favour of the payment of the Roman taxes (xxii. 21), that was very far from being an abjuration of the national cause. That they held aloof from the Gentiles may be concluded both from vii. 6, x. 5, xv. 26, and from the history of the first reception of Gentiles into the

community. Jesus had set them the example of not avoiding the tax-gatherers and sinners (Matt. viii. 10 κ.τ.λ.), but the tax-gatherers were Jewish officials in the service of Rome, and the sinners, the ἁμαρτωλοί, were Jews who, like the others, had mixed with heathens and meddled with heathen customs. Devotion to their salvation did not signify any approach to the heathens.

The tradition of the earliest period has not concealed the occurrence in the community of events which did not correspond to those pure and lofty principles. It records the hypocrisy of Ananias and the dispute as to the care of the widows, telling in the former case of the ban, with which faith combined the consequence of bodily death. But the morality of the Church was pure enough to prevent even the watchfulness of the enemy aspersing it; the persecutors complained of the creed, not of the actions, of the members.

§ 4. *The Later Period*

The inferences to be drawn for the earliest period from the tradition of the ethical sayings contained in the first three Gospels furnish us with a picture on the whole self-consistent. Only in two respects is there a change to be recognised in this sphere from the sources of the Third Gospel. The tidings of the kingdom was certainly given by Jesus Himself as the gospel of the poor, in the sense that the comfort it brought was especially helpful to them, and they were especially receptive of it. But now it was worded as if it was meant only for them, or as if they possessed a right to it above all others. Poverty gave a claim to future recompense; poverty was glorified as a certain pledge of election. And in harmony with this the rich incurred the judgment. To mammon, to wealth, the attribute of unrighteousness attached inalienably (Luke vi. 20-26 [xii. 21], xvi., xxi. 1-4). Here we have to recognise an advance in the views taken of the actual conditions. The community continued poor, its poverty increased in an ever greater degree; it was a subject of contemptuous criticism, an

inducement to oppression. Hence sprang the temper of the elect who called for help, hence their judgments.

A second advance is of a more general nature, and pervades the most varied spheres. This relates to the development of the principles due to Jesus in their detailed application. The application to the various cases presented in practice rose of itself, with the duration of the community, from its wants, and thus many a rule, which became current in the Church, was then included under the sayings of Jesus. This was above all, so far as we see, abundantly exemplified in the precepts for the exercise of love to a neighbour, and of the social virtues. Under this head we have the rules that applied to lending (vi. 34), measuring (vi. 38), hospitality (xi. 5 ff.)—with special reference to the poor (xiv. 13) —modesty and admission of equality (xiv. 7, vi. 40, xxii. 26 f.), and maintenance of family dependants (xii. 42, 45). The tendency to apply the principles to all sorts of cases leads even to tautology (vi. 37), or the elaboration of parallel types (xi. 12). The duty of love in relation to enemies is illustrated by instancing the Samaritans (x. 33 ff. [xvii. 16]), though this undoubtedly also denotes that the original limitations of brotherhood in the faith were, in spite of all repugnance, everywhere broken through. The further development of the tradition reveals itself notably in the directions given for the emissaries of the Gospel (x. 4 ff.). The experiences met with are reflected in a certain bitterness (x. 4, 10 f.), but other features are simply answers to doubts which had risen in practice, *e.g.* the command to take food in the houses visited (x. 7 f.). So also in other places, questions suggested by their life are answered in this way, as may be seen in the narrative of the swords, xxii. 35-38; for in it we have merely an indication how near home had come the question of self-defence by force, and how it had been necessary absolutely to negative such an attempt. Again the narrative of Martha and Mary reminds us of the necessary separation in the Church of the purely spiritual and the practical ministry (cf. Acts vi. 2), and the natural emergence in consequence of the question as to their different appreciation

And the broad expositions as to the justification of the reception of sinners, as in the standard parables in Luke xv., certainly did not originally spring from Pauline theology, but were rather fundamentally due to actual experiences.

In proportion as the tradition of the commands of Jesus was supplemented in this manner, there inevitably entered, with the applications given, a new legal tendency, which, in its way, departed—almost trivially—from the original height and breadth. Yet this impulse also served actually to promote further the separation of the community, and to strengthen its internal structure. Only in the rigour of the views as to poverty and riches, as well as in the more strained relations of the emissaries, are expressed the peculiar characteristics of the later period of the Primitive Church.

This sort of reconstruction of the moral world could, without doubt, only arise as it did on this soil. We should utterly misunderstand the significance of this earliest Jewish Christian stage, were we to regard it merely as a limitation, destined to be surmounted and left behind. The very existence of the Primitive Church within the pale of Judaism did most to impart to the community, in the development of its moral principles and customs, the capacity for universal extension. This relationship protected it above all else from setting up cumbrous forms and restrictive regulations. What the Church thus became gave it the character which is so significantly expressed in the figure of the leaven (Matt. xiii. 33), and the fulfilment of which was dependent on the destiny conveyed in the other figure of the mustard-seed (ver. 31 f.). Hence that power of personality which rested on the inner certainty of the Kingdom of God, but could only flourish under such freedom. Bound to no hard-and-fast institution, each man bore in himself the strength of his invincible vocation. This ethic, which wrought only in purifying and ennobling the existing conditions of things, and therefore ever fell back upon the pure principle, could undertake the same vocation on any other soil; all that was required was a different application of the same spirit.

Thus the Gentile Christian Church was in this respect also merely the successor of the Primitive Church.

SECTION II.—PAUL AND GENTILE CHRISTIANITY

§ 1. *The Judgment on Paganism*

Yet it was reserved to Gentile Christianity to form an independent and distinctive Christian ethic. It was at least in this sphere that the new religion was first able to reveal its power of moral construction. The preaching of the Gospel had indeed brought with it the Jewish law. Even Paul taught the law. He moved involuntarily in it with the thought of the Jew and erewhile Pharisee; but he also clung to faith in its Divine origin and its essential sacredness (Rom. vii. 12, 14; xiii. 9); it accordingly contained imperishable commands, and from it in difficult questions he borrowed his decision, or the proof in support of his decision (1 Cor. ix. 8 [xiv. 34]). But this law required first to be taught and introduced. Accordingly it did not here form a presupposition, on which all that was necessary was to go on building. In this case the law was itself rather a mere portion of the Gospel whose principles were declared, not as an amendment of legal duty and usage, but as a new dispensation. This preaching, however, had before it an unprepared field; it was necessarily carried through from the beginning in open war. The moral condition which it sought to create could only issue from a complete breach with the past which it found in possession.

It was thus mainly that Paul in his utterances regarded pagan life. In these judgments what he had before him was the moral condition prevalent in the Græco-Roman empire, and we may well call his delineation of it stern. Such a description he has given in Rom. i. for the purpose of proving that this world merited punishment. The details (i. 24-28) might convey the impression that the only feature of this pagan life was its being sunk in

unnatural licentiousness. That is not quite the intention, however. We must keep in view the context in which the writer's task was to show, as had been done in the Book of Wisdom, chap. xiv., the demoralising effect of the heathen deification of nature. Those vices formed the extreme limit in this respect, and therefore furnished the strongest proof. It is in this sense they are here employed. But undoubtedly the rest lying within this limit, the added list of the remaining vices of this same heathen world (ver. 29-32), is the dark outline of a life which, wholly corroded by selfishness, reveals, in the more refined as well as in its coarse and violent manifestations, neither more nor less than the dissolution of human society. He intentionally excludes any objection that might be based on the juristic life of the Romans; the very knowledge of the right held by society only aggravated the guilt of their wicked customs and frivolity. Of course, immediately afterwards Paul pronounces a judgment hardly less severe upon the moral condition of the Jews (ii. 21-23 [iii. 10-18]). We can accordingly say that he here generalises: not by affirming that these vices prevail everywhere; the cast and nature of this society are characterised by its having generally produced these sins. But on another occasion, when dealing with the actual condition of matters at the particular place, he says (1 Cor. v. 10) that the gravest vices, unchastity, greed, and robbery, just like idolatry, were so generally diffused, that he who sought to avoid intercourse with those addicted to them would require to go out of the world altogether. And he tells the Christians there unhesitatingly (vi. 11) that in one form or other they also had formerly taken part in them. The directions given in 1 Thess. iv. 3-7 again indicate the same thing, at least as regards separate outstanding points. This heathen world was therefore simply unclean. In relation to it the only possible duty left to the Christian was complete renunciation; without that, sanctification in the fear of God was impossible (2 Cor. vi. 14–vii. 1). The life of this world was nothing but the life of the flesh, which was therefore (Gal. v. 19-21) portrayed in its works, exactly like paganism (Rom. i.

29-32). In addition to sensuality and licentiousness the picture is here again virtually full of traits of the disintegration of society.

In spite of all this Paul knew perfectly, and indeed stated, that there was something else in this heathen world besides coarse and refined vices. We find that Gentiles, who had certainly no law like the Jews, did by nature what the law taught; they had no law, but they were a law to themselves, they bore it in themselves; they proved by their deeds that it was written in their hearts; their conscience ever bore witness to it, and, when they grew troubled, accusation and defence alternated in their thoughts (Rom. ii. 14 f.). Paul held this up to the Jews to prove that not the mere possession of a law, but the doing of it, was of importance. But he also recognised in quite another fashion the moral forces existing within heathenism and their effects. He pointed to the moral judgment of the heathens surrounding them as a standard which the converts were to keep in view for their behaviour; they were to lead a life honourable in the eyes of their neighbours (1 Thess. iv. 12 [Col. iv. 5]). Now, it is in complete harmony with this that Paul appeals in his moral exhortations meant for Christians to common ethical notions taken neither from law nor Gospel, and that he does so particularly in addressing a Church mainly Gentile Christian (Rom. xii. 2). They were to learn to distinguish what the will of God was; that was, however, simply what they and every one else knew to be good, and acceptable, and perfect. To the same effect he calls their fulfilment of moral duty their λογικὴ λατρεία, their rational service of God, and he thus recalls, in conception and name, the widely diffused doctrine of Stoic morality. Exactly similar teaching recurs in Phil. iv. 8, in the exhortation whose charm to this day rests on the appeal to the common feeling of humanity: 'Think upon what is true, honourable, just, pure, lovely, of good report, whatever is a virtue, and whatever is praiseworthy.' That was spoken from Rome as the former was written to Rome. The best, that which was valid among men, among heathens, was also truly Christian.

This gave a point of contact; but the compelling power to

create a new life did not yet exist. Neither moral satisfaction, nor rational knowledge, possessed this power. Both were there, and yet the realisation was far off. In this Paul was the genuine scholar of the Gospel; he built morality upon its faith. But even in Paul that did not mean that the motive to good conduct lay in the expectation of reward. Faith in the judgment of God upon all evil was indeed a fixed presupposition (Rom. ii. 5-10 [iii. 5]). But to the Christian it was quite as certain that he was delivered from this judgment (Rom. v. 9; 1 Thess. v. 9, i. 10); and, on the other hand, that in the possession of the Gospel, or of the redemption of Christ, he was already sure of the future of eternal life (Rom. vi. 22 [viii. 38], v. 17-21). So when the attainment of life as of destruction is represented as a harvest corresponding to the different seeds sown (Gal. vi. 7, 8), the reference is not to reward and punishment, but rather to the essential character of the conduct in the two directions, and its natural consequence. And a similar view is to be taken of the statements which affirm that the practice of certain vices excludes from the Kingdom of God (1 Cor. vi. 9; Gal. v. 21).

§ 2. *The Leading Principles*

The first and simplest of the lessons which Paul was in the habit of bringing home to the converts composing a little Church may lie before us in the first letter to the Thessalonians. After their adoption of faith in God and His kingdom, it only corresponded to the complete consciousness of the blessing that their lives should be worthy of the calling which they had thus received (ii. 12), and that in their conduct they should strive to please this their God (iv. 1). The directions which the Apostle gave them were all based on the truth, that this one living God, who had called them to Himself, had a purpose with them; He sought, namely, to have them fit for communion with Himself. His will was, therefore, their sanctification, really in the sense that they were especially dedicated to Him (iv. 3). It is like a reflection

of this inner dedication that they were also bound worthily to represent God and their own principles by honourable conduct towards those without (iv. 12). In the midst of the darkness of the world their faith had created for them the daylight (v. 4 ff.), and it was therefore self-evident that they had to avoid all that feared the light (cf. Rom. xiii. 12 f.; 2 Cor. vi. 14). To this first and leading precept corresponds wholly, however, the demand which Paul, then at the climax of his active career, makes upon believers in Rom. xii. 2, where he bids them live themselves into the will of God, which indeed was identical with what appeared to every man to be good, acceptable, and perfect, and yet could only be realised by quitting the life of surrounding society, and by acquiring an entirely different mode of thought. The next condition was that the body itself, or the whole physical life, should assume the form of a sacrifice; for that was the Christian, which was also the only rational, Divine service (xii. 1). Thus wisely were heathen custom and heathen views translated in terms of the new thought. This God required no sacrifice: yet one offering He did require—themselves and their holy conduct.

In the case of Paul, however, still another feature came into the foreground. The great moral transformation, which inevitably followed from the faith, was above all based by him upon the death of Christ and its effect. By this means a powerful lever was introduced which supplied the place of the direct influence of Jesus' own personality. The immediate disciples had been supported by the living influence of Jesus; in contact with Him they were able to feel that they were sons of God, members of the kingdom, and heirs of His Spirit. Now, it was still possible to refer to that life those who, remote from Him, accepted what they were told of it. His humility and poverty, His wonderful self-abnegation in coming and living as man, constituted for them the example endowed with constraining power (2 Cor. viii. 9; Phil. ii. 5 ff.). But now something different came to the front, the close of that life in the same spirit. And if this death bore the character of a dark fate, yet even that fate was transfigured

when rightly understood. Nay, the complete change of life, which faith in Him was to produce in His followers, obtained in the death not only its grandest type, but also its impelling force. It is perfectly true that for Paul the supreme rule of all moral judgment was contained in the antithesis of flesh and spirit. The flesh was to him in this connection the sum of all sensuality and selfishness, while similarly the spirit was the sum of purity and love (Gal. v. 19-23; Rom. viii. 5 ff.). This antithesis of itself involved the judgment upon heathenism, as well as the demand for a complete transformation. But this transformation was not a bare demand; neither the flesh nor the spirit depended on the will of man; each was a power; and the believer had not to begin to seek for the Spirit, but was already under its influence. 'The old has passed away, behold, it has become new' (2 Cor. v. 17). The efficient cause, however, was the death of Christ. For the Apostle taught that, in the intention and by the decree of God, this death was the victory of the one power over the other, the victory of the spirit over the flesh (Rom. viii. 2, 3). Thereby accordingly, the old had passed away and the new come to life; the only limit to the operation was the requirement for it of faith in Jesus; and it came into effect, therefore, when the man was baptized (Rom. vi. 3 ff.). In baptism the death of Christ was not only presented figuratively, but appropriated in its full effect: the old man died and the new life of the Spirit began.

Now, this was no moral process; the point was not that the man, referred to the intentions of God, transformed himself in accordance with them; that he could not do, so long as the Divine energy itself had not freed him from the power of sin. Accordingly the transformation was rather supernatural, and secured the life of the Spirit to him as a gift. But this did not merely involve the believers' conviction that they were sons of God, and the assurance that death no longer existed for them. It also imparted the power to act righteously and to attain holiness. Yet for the latter nothing was thereby given but the beginning. It required to be realised by their moral will, and by their own

resolve: as Paul says (Gal. v. 25), 'If we live in the Spirit, let us also walk in the Spirit.' The Spirit was, accordingly, a sphere of life, and it was a power. What He gave was there—both the special gifts and the freedom and power to be and to do good. But this possession did not work like a force of nature, but with the force of an obligation. It was the motive for moral action.

In many a variation, but ever with the same thought, this obligation was made by Paul the basis of his exhortations. In its most general form, it ran that the believers were to walk worthily of the Gospel (Phil. i. 27). Its compelling character meets us most pronouncedly in the phrase, that they have become δοῦλοι, slaves of God and of righteousness (Rom. vi. 22, 18). The converse of this, but the same fact, is contained in that other statement, that through Christ they had become free, and had been admitted into a state of liberty; for freedom from sin was at the same time freedom from the law (Gal. v. 1, 13). The price at which they had been ransomed could not but impel them to glorify God in themselves (1 Cor. vi. 20); they were members of Christ (vi. 15, xii. 27); they no longer belonged to themselves, because the Holy Spirit dwelt in them; they were His temple. It is therefore to be said that in the Apostle's view the believer could not but live in conformity with his calling. But the compulsion was moral. It rested on the fact that if he did not, he fell into an insupportable inconsistency between his possession and his conduct; he denied his own spiritual life. Therefore Paul wrote: 'Let him who thinks he stands, see that he does not fall' (1 Cor. x. 12). For the flesh was still present, though with his thoughts he served the law of God (Rom. vii. 25); it warred with the Spirit as the Spirit warred with the flesh (Gal. v. 17). Thus the Christian is like the competitor in the running-path (1 Cor. ix. 24 ff.). The reward is nothing, however, but the perfecting of the life which he already possesses (Rom. viii. 17). This final goal is essentially a gift of redeeming grace, quite as much as the present state of freedom (Rom. v. 1-11). Accordingly, while stress was laid upon the moral self-realisation of the redeemed, this was not

something accomplished by himself, something done for the sake of a prospective reward. He only verified what he had received.

§ 3. *Christian Ethics*

The grounds on which Paul and his disciples based Christian morality are, without doubt, of great importance for our estimate of their success in the founding of the Gentile Christian Church. The influence of such doctrines depended ultimately indeed on the strength of the highest principle, not because that convinced by its logical strength, but because it afforded a firm background to the feeling. The principle wrought as a fact, and it was facts that were required. But we certainly cannot draw conclusions from the space occupied by it in the Pauline letters and apply them to the Apostle's usual procedure. So far as we can perceive the latter, Paul undoubtedly strove to plant principles, and to base practical duties on the faith. But, at the same time, his procedure in detail was very simple: he kept to the immediate wants and experiences, and combined Christian duties and virtues as he himself saw fit. Simply because this ethic and exhortation started from the certainty of a moral possession, from which these duties and virtues necessarily evolved themselves, there was no need of a systematic presentation, or of the setting up of definite central commandments. The freest treatment was possible in an ever-varying framework. At the same time the central rules of the ethic continually appear clearly enough.

In the Apostle's own narrative of his earliest procedure in Thessalonica, we see him not only starting with the most direct and natural motives, but also attaching his moral instructions wholly to the facts that came most immediately before him. He taught his converts that God's will was their sanctification. Accordingly they were above all on the one hand to refrain from unchastity and to take a nobler view of marriage, and on the other to guard themselves in business from the reproach of taking advantage of their neighbours. To these rules are then added their duties to

one another as associates in the faith, duties which are summed up in brotherly love; and they are enjoined to lead a peaceful, quiet, and industrious life, making them independent of those without, and ensuring them the due respect of others (1 Thess. iv. 1-12). Paul has in his letter then supplemented these first instructions by exhortations (v. 14-23) which chiefly concern the internal life of the community, its cohesion and harmony, as also the practice of the congregations. But they also introduce the kindness that overcomes all evil, and abstinence from wrong-doing of every kind (15, 22); and they relate everything once more to the aim of complete sanctification (23).

In the Galatian letter we possess (v. 22 f.) a whole list of Christian virtues, which are adduced as the fruit of the Spirit: 'Love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, magnanimity, fidelity, meekness, temperance.' These were qualities intelligible to every one. They are further illustrated by the contrasted picture of the works of the flesh (19-21): 'Unchastity, impurity, wantonness, idolatry, sorcery, enmity, strife, jealousy, wrath, intrigues, schism, secession, envy, drunkenness, gluttony, and the like.' These works are manifest, Paul says; that is, the picture is taken from life, and mainly from heathen life. But the other picture, that of the fruits of the Spirit, is not the absolute antitype; it refers at the same time and essentially to the legal demand of Judaistic opponents. The Apostle disposed of this demand in the sphere of morality by the reminder (14), that the whole law was fulfilled in one word, 'thou shall love thy neighbour as thyself.' His description of the fruits of the Spirit concludes with the sentence: 'Against such there is no law.' And just because he has in mind this antithesis of the legal commands, he has summarised the practical effect of the Spirit in such virtues of the disposition as proceed from the spirit of the Gospel, and from the roots of a higher fulfilment of duty in freedom. Here again exhortations are added (v. 26–vi. 10) affecting special duties arising from Church life—tolerance, humility, and a self-sacrificing temper. And in striking lines they show how Paul was accustomed to

trace every detail to the deepest foundations of the faith. 'Bear ye one another's burden,' he says, 'and thus ye will fulfil the law of Christ' (vi. 2)—this law being nothing but the self-sacrifice of Christ which must rule the minds of his people. And so also: 'He who sows to the Spirit shall of the Spirit reap life eternal' (vi. 8); for this participation of the disciple with the teacher denotes that thus the cause of the Spirit is promoted, and in the knowledge resides the power that overcomes all narrowness of heart. In the very same way the victory over sensuous desires is succinctly referred to the death of Christ, its type: 'those who belong to Christ Jesus have crucified the flesh with its passions and desires' (v. 24).

Again in the letter to the Philippians the chief exhortation as to the moral bearing (iv. 4-9) of believers is so introduced, that its whole demonstration issues from the disposition of joy in the Lord. It comprehends those exhortations which point to all feeling and thought purely and universally human. The striving to attain this ideal was, however, to be sustained by the lofty sense of Christ's redemption, dispelling all anxiety and resolving into trust in God, and with its peace constituting the sure protection for heart and mind.

Paul's most comprehensive moral instruction is contained in Romans xii. It begins with that exhortation to the rational Divine service which the Christians have to practice, and which is contained in the expressive summons to offer a living sacrifice, holy and well-pleasing to God, by presenting themselves, their own bodies. It is, for the rest, in harmony with the origin of the letter, its being intended for a strange Church, that the Apostle here covers so much ground, and, in the form of a hortatory address, gives a kind of comprehensive doctrine of the moral conduct of the Christian, teaching that has a more definite bearing only in so far as it is designed to lead up to the two special subjects which the Apostle has still to discuss in xiii. and xiv. On the other hand, even this instruction is unmistakably addressed to Gentile Christians, and is therefore calculated to illustrate

the transformation which Christianity effected in this pagan territory. The Apostle at once attached his teachings to current notions, in describing the Divine service required as rational. Now, however, as regarded these Gentiles, the change proposed to them consisted first of all in their requiring to learn what the will of God was, in their requiring to attain the necessary thought and feeling (xii. 2). But to that will they could conform themselves whenever they perceived that it involved nothing but what was also accepted in their own world as good, acceptable, and perfect. For it was not something extraordinary, something higher than a true sense of duty should suggest, that they as Christians were concerned with. The mind required of them as Christians was to lead simply to the virtue, well-known among the Greeks, of *σωφροσύνη*, of self-control and modesty. This it was that was realised in the Christian communion through their being related to one another as members of one body in Christ. And thus the Apostle was led to speak first of the kinds of vocation which belonged to the life of the Church, and to allot to them their rights, but also their boundaries. And therewith the order of the Church, and that which was distinctly Christian were adjusted, and secured against all perverse conceptions and abuses (xii. 1-8).

This is followed by a gradual transition to the more general exhortation, which has for its subject, not merely the life in the community, but the whole moral conduct, based on his faith, of every individual, contemplating in particular the true and effective attitude to those without (xii. 9-21). The line followed is quite free. No definite command is at first given except that of unquestioning love. Along with this we have, however, the rule, appealing universally and attaching itself to what doubtless existed in current ethical conceptions: 'Abhor that which is evil, cleave to that which is good.' Next follow the particular exhortations, and first of all that to hearty brotherly love and mutual respect. On this foundation of their communion is then described, in all its aspects, the disposition infused by the faith

into the Christian, his unquenched zeal and fiery spirit, his devotion to God and joyful hope, his patient endurance and persistent prayer; to this succeeds, as its inseparable consequence, the attitude to others, to fellow-believers, but also to all men, an attitude displayed in beneficence, hospitality, love to enemies, sympathy, humility, modesty, and peaceableness. With all this a basis was given for the settlement of two questions under discussion at the time, the relation to the state and society, and to others of different views among believers themselves.

The Corinthian letters contain no such comprehensive hortatory sections; in them Paul had to deal throughout with particular questions and duties, which, besides, constantly gave him occasion to state at once the simplest and deepest principles, as where (1 Cor. vi. 10) he calls the body the temple of the Holy Spirit. The letters especially exemplify his derivation from the loftiest principles of every separate decision bearing on practical morality. And in one place he presents the fulness of the new life as a unity, in his praise of all-adjusting, all-conquering love (1 Cor. xiii). Elsewhere it appears as a standing commonplace of his teaching (Gal. v. 14; Rom. xiii. 8, 9), that all the commandments of the law are contained in the one to love our neighbour—a sentence manifestly taken from the sayings of Jesus. But here, in view of the perplexing and disturbing experiences in the internal life of the Corinthian Church, he has described love as the supreme possession of the Christian, to be esteemed not only above all virtues, but above all spiritual gifts. No knowledge, nay, no faith, no works possess any worth without love. Hence it is the watchword of redemption and reconciliation for the whole course of life.

If we seek, therefore, to reduce Paul's conception of Christian duty as a whole to supreme commandments, the three points spontaneously present themselves of prayerfulness, sanctification of self, and love of our neighbour. The first includes, besides the use of prayer, submission, joy, and hope, and constitutes the immediate cherishing of the blessing received. The second,

sanctification, embraces, along with bodily chastity, separation from the world and renewal of mind. The third comprises brotherly duties within the Church, as well as those relative to all men.

§ 4. *Moral Conditions*

We gather from the exhortations of the great Apostle to the Gentiles what the Gospel mission sought to make of them, how it meant to transform and shape their lives. We have now to ask what effect followed these exertions, what were the fruits of the preaching and the planting of Churches. Now Paul's letters give us indeed neither a history of the morals of these first churches, nor a list of ethical statistics; but they furnish a character sketch in praise and blame.

In ordinary circumstances the Apostles was in the habit, by way of introduction to what followed, of greeting the Church to which he wrote with words of praise and recognition. He omitted this only in special circumstances—when he was deeply moved. Thus in Galatians a stern reproof is substituted for this section at the very beginning, and praise, not of the present, but at least of the past, of the first prosperous period, is only introduced in the later course of the letter. Again in 2 Corinthians he has indeed begun with a doxology, not, however, for the state of the Church, but for that which at the moment touched him most nearly, namely, his own deliverance from extreme danger. On the other hand praise of the Church, under the form of thanksgiving to God, is placed at the head of 1 Thessalonians, 1 Corinthians, and Philippians. And the letter to the Romans, which required at this place the personal introduction of the Apostle, has atoned for that by inserting his recognition of the spiritual state of the Roman Christians into his wish for personal acquaintance with them. Those sections give us, however, no great results for our estimate of the moral condition. The central point in 1 Thessalonians is still the adoption of Christianity itself, the fact of their conversion amid great

conflicts. In 1 Corinthians the subject of recognition is the spiritual life in the Church with its rich demonstrations especially in gifts of knowledge. In Philippians the Apostle returns thanks —in essentially general terms—for the Church having so long persisted in the communion of the Gospel. And the whole occasional praise elsewhere expressed in the letters does not furnish us with a distinct picture.

Much more fruitful for the history are the sentences of blame, the reproaches and complaints of the Apostle. They show not only that it was exceptionally hard even for the converts to habituate themselves to the ethical principles of Christianity, but also that with the appropriation of the faith were associated false ideas and tendencies, which threatened it at the best with speedy extinction, but otherwise with complete degeneracy. Now, to combine the whole of this class of phenomena, we may perhaps simply designate the common root of all these aberrations as religious exaltation. It asserted itself above all in the agitation in which the convert, instead of pursuing work honourable in itself, craved to make himself at once conspicuous with what he had or believed that he had. Thus it produced religious fussiness combined with indolence, and, on the other hand, the desire to turn the world upside down. The exaltation entered into other forms of error which mistook the nature of the new faith, and therein represented the conflict of the old with the new. Here we meet, on the one hand, with the metamorphosis of the religious creed into a kind of philosophy, which in its higher knowledge and liberty recognised no limitation, and, on the other, with the opinion that it was necessary to prove this faith by denying our natural life. All these phenomena cross and combine with each other in many ways; in the mass, however, they are only signs of the conflicts due to the adoption of the Gospel on heathen soil. They were always essentially the same tendencies which had to be fought. On the one hand, the exalted sense of the new faith threatened to break through all restraints, to dissolve all order, and to make hazardous experiments.

On the other, it continued to be hard to break away from old customs, and there was a danger that the strength of the faith should be lost in effeminacy. Thus in the formation of the Christian ethic the great doctrines of the Apostle to the Gentiles were confronted by the impulses at work in the bosom of the youthful churches.

There was from the beginning an unmistakable disposition, attendant on the new faith, to break with the existing rule of life. First, it was an inner unrest which could not reconcile the newly appropriated spiritual life with the claims of the outside world. This unrest was especially likely to arise where the thoughts were chiefly directed to the near end of the world, and the coming of Christ. Thus in Thessalonica there threatened to spread among the brethren an indolence whose converse was the fussiness of fanaticism. Men, impelled by the unrest, abandoned work, began to cease attending to their domestic and civic duties, and threatened to bring the faith into disrepute among their fellow-citizens (1 Thess. iv. 11, 12). They required to be enjoined to make it a point of honour to live quietly, to attend to their own business, and to do their work, that the community might lead an honourable and independent existence in its dealings with those without. Those were the disorderly whom it was necessary to warn (v. 14). And in view of these aberrations it was quite to be expected that distinctive expressions of the life of faith, such as prophecy, should come to be regarded by others with contempt (v. 20).

It was no great step to a state of things which made it necessary to guard against a universal levelling by the removal of all class distinctions. The sons of God as such, all who had actually 'put on Christ' in baptism, were equal to one another and before God, and it was impossible for any one to have expressed that more emphatically than Paul himself (Gal. iii. 28): 'There is neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free, man nor woman, for you are all one in Christ Jesus.' But this did not mean that classes were to be done away with in actual life. What Paul said on this subject (1 Cor. vii. 17 ff.) was indubitably called forth by

actual events. The efforts which he had in view appear from the words, 'Let every man live—in the class in which the Lord has called him—is one called being circumcised, let him not become uncircumcised, or being a heathen, let him not be circumcised;—let every one remain in the class in which he has been called. If you were called being a slave, do not let that trouble you; and though you have it in your power to become free, better remain as you are,—let every man remain in the class in which he was called.' And the starting-point for all this is the question of mixed marriages; the spirit which sought to remove class distinctions created the opinion that it was necessary to dissolve such marriages (vii. 13 f.). And, on the other hand, under this head came also the tendency to put women on an equal footing within the Church with men, to let them conduct themselves like men (xi. 3 ff.), and to permit them to address the congregation (xiv. 34 ff.).

Still more disquieting became the same desire when it led to repugnance to the power of the state, and threatened to end in revolt, though only, as is presupposed in the Apostle's exhortation (Rom. xiii.), in the form of a refusal to discharge civil duties. It was necessary, above all, in the capital that the Church should preserve the reputation of being an alliance wholly without danger to the state, and submissive to the public order. But especially here, in the capital of the world, and face to face with the supreme power, it was possible for the feeling that they had nothing to do with that order to force itself on believers, and for the desire actually to occupy a position apart from it to develop in their midst. Doubtless it did not for the present go beyond thinking and wishing; but no one could count on the time when it might not lead to imprudent action. Paul had already in his general exhortations significantly indicated that it was important, in their relations to all men, to think upon what was noble, to keep the peace as far as lay in their own power, and to overcome evil with good. Then, however, he passed expressly to the question of reverence to magistrates, and not only warned against all resistance, but commanded obedience as submission to a Divine dispensation,

extending his opinion to cover the payment of taxes. It is, besides, plainly to be seen that he had men in view who with all their fanaticism felt a foreboding fear of the power of the state. But these two characteristics are not inconsistent; they only form the two-sided expression of the inner repugnance and its unrest.

In all these cases the converts to Christianity had deduced from their new faith rights whose realisation would have compromised the character of the religion. This religion was not meant to transform society and to interfere in the life of the state. Had the Church followed such a direction, it would have come to an abrupt end, or, at most, have been for a very brief period permitted an activity in which precisely the deepest elements of its life must have perished. But the above tendency was not the only, was not even the most powerful one. Paul at least had to contend, besides, with a quite different matter. Those Gentiles just come to the faith formed as yet a varied and anything but purified material, and a considerable section had only divested themselves with difficulty of the former licence of their life, and—as is proved by the warnings (Rom. xiii. 13 f.; 1 Thess. v. 6; 1 Cor. v. 11, vi. 9; 2 Cor. vii. 1, xii. 21; Gal. v. 21)—were constantly in danger of a relapse. In Churches like that of Corinth society was plainly of a motley composition: it was not only chiefly formed from the lower grades, but also of elements whose past was questionable. And the prevailing poverty did not here prevent, any more than elsewhere, outbreaks of licentiousness. Although Paul's language is strong, and the picture he gives is painted with glaring colours, the fact is certain that the very liking for luxurious feasts threatened to deprive the sacred common meals of their whole character. In the same way it may be that his complaint of and warning against unchastity have generalised events. But in 1 Cor. v. 9 ff., vi. 13 ff., he certainly had facts before him which gave him cause for the sternest reproof. And the one grave case which (v. 1 ff.) he selects from the rest is of itself quite proof enough. Whether in this instance we regard the father of the evildoer as having been alive or dead, it was a question of violating not merely

a Jewish Christian command, but a general moral feeling. Of course Corinth, the maritime and commercial city, the seat of licentious worship, might well present a peculiarly difficult situation to the founder of the Church there; but it was much the same in Rome and Asia Minor. And there was cause to complain not only of licentiousness but of greed, and the consequent quarrels (1 Cor. vi. 1 ff.; Gal. v. 15). Finally, the first demand which it was necessary to make upon the newly converted was renunciation of idolatry and all that was connected with it, especially, therefore, the pagan sacrificial meals. But it was here that perhaps the greatest obstacle presented itself. Not only was there the attraction to the wonted pleasure of the feast, but the old ties of comradeship and friendship, the power of persuasion, the shrinking from an open avowal of the new principles, exerted their influence.

But was this complete breach with the past necessary? In many a different way sophistical reasoning abetted inclination in negativing the question. The Gospel had taught that the whole world of gods was a vain imagination. Had not, then, the sacrificial meal become an innocent social festival, in which the Christian, with his better knowledge, could take part without danger or doubt? The consequences which might attach, which almost necessarily attached, to this idea are obvious. It was indeed only fickleness that sought to shelter itself under the higher knowledge. And quite similar motives threatened, in another connection, the same danger: in the case, that is, of the Christian in a mixed marriage, who, when the heathen wife or husband, from hatred to Christianity, desired separation, sought to cling to the other, and made a shift to justify such conduct by the hope that he or she might yet be gained over. It was, in point of fact, more likely that the Christian would lose his faith (1 Cor. vii. 15 f.). Another evasion is touched on by Paul in Gal. v. 13: 'Ye are called to freedom, brethren, yet not freedom for an occasion to the flesh.' For that was not merely said to rebut a false exposition by his Judaistic opponents of his teaching as to freedom from the law; it is quite evident that it had an actual cause which is to be dis-

covered in v. 15. We must conclude that disputes due to ambitious claims were prevalent in the Church, because none would submit to another, and each sought as a Christian to be independent. On the other hand, continued intercourse with heathens seems not only to have undermined 'good manners,' but also to have shaken the new faith. Paul indicates this when he combats the denial of the Resurrection, which had arisen in the Corinthian Church, and (1 Cor. xv. 32) draws the consequence, following Isaiah xxii. 13, implied in the views of those involved: 'Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die.' And he warns them not to let themselves be seduced, quoting the verse and perhaps proverb: 'Evil company corrupts good manners' (1 Cor. xv. 33). They had been intoxicated, they must become sober (ver. 34). The seductions of a dissolute life had prepared the way for objections to the faith. These were the matters which occasioned the Apostle (1 Cor. x. 1 ff.) to compare the Church of believers with Israel in the wilderness, the people that had received grace, and, because the way was too hard, and false security had possessed the heart, had been brought to its fall by idolatry, unchastity, and murmuring against God.

The conceit of knowledge, arrogance in its possession, had not only contributed to the relapse into heathen morals and idolatry, but had also had a direct influence and produced all the fruits of false imagination, disobedience, and quarrelsomeness. The letters of the Apostle Paul contain a host of instances taken from the Gentile Churches everywhere. Every one was perfectly wise and would go his own way, or believed that his special gifts made him superior to others. Hence arose party divisions, insubordination to the Apostle himself, and fickleness and susceptibility to every form of teaching that thrust itself among them. Pride, the valuing of their own thought unduly, was (Rom. xii. 3; cf. 1 Cor. iv. 6) the antithesis of the spirit of the true fulfilment of duty, of the necessary self-restraint, and formed therefore a barrier to mutual service in the Church (xii. 4 ff., 16), as well as to mutual tolerance (xiv.). Hence arose in Corinth that premature self-sufficiency (1 Cor. iv. 8) which soon shook off respect for the teacher, and

produced party divisions (2 Cor. xii. 20). Hence the conceit of special endowments (1 Cor. xii. 4 ff.), and the pushing of these forward (xiv. 26 ff.). Hence, also, on the other hand, the incredible weakness in presence of pretensions introduced by flattery, all the inconstancy and vanity, which revealed, elsewhere as well, the success of the Judaistic emissaries (Gal. iv. 12 ff., v. 26, vi. 2-5). And, even in his latest days, Paul had in his Church in Philippi to fight against nothing more than this spirit (Phil. ii. 1, iv. 2).

We have still to mention another kind of degeneracy which formed, at least in part, an antithesis to the foregoing, one which consisted rather in an overstraining of the ethical demand to renounce the world, and was capable of extending to the denial of nature. Paul twice encounters manifestations of this tendency. Of the condition of the Roman Church he could only know at second hand. He speaks, however (xiv.), with such precision of a party in the Church which abstained from flesh and wine, and besides solemnised certain days, that no doubt is possible of the fact. The party emanated from the Jewish proselytes, but the development of such views on Gentile Christian soil proves the great receptiveness which, in harmony with a widespread trait of religious life, existed for this aspiration after abstinence. Again, we meet, in a second case, with the practice of denying the natural life in a Gentile Christian Church, and that in close proximity to heathen levity and licentiousness—in the Church of Corinth. There instances occurred, side by side with the greatest licence in sexual intercourse, of married people, without dissolving their marriage, yet withdrawing from one another out of a pious scrupulosity (1 Cor. vii. 3). There mixed marriages were not only maintained at the cost of denying the faith, but also, on the other hand, dissolved without necessity (vii. 12). At Corinth the inclination to celibacy had in a short time developed so strongly, that there was not only a class of virgins (vii. 25); the custom was already fostered to such an overstrained extent (vii. 36 ff.), that the grossest depravity threatened to grow out of it. What the Apostle says of men bearing responsibility for these virgins is not clear enough

to let us perceive with the necessary precision the relations to which he refers. The interpretation that points to the paternal power and its obligations is not impossible, and in the defective state of our knowledge will always be first to suggest itself. But the words themselves support another meaning more strongly. There rather seems to have existed a kind of spiritual betrothal between the virgin and a man, which secured to him the guardianship and duty of oversight, but, through the freedom of the intercourse thus established, also formed a source of danger. In any case, all these traits taken together furnish a picture of a fanatical cherishing of sexual continence, which here presents itself in a unique form, and to which no certain parallel occurs on Jewish Christian ground. For the hint we find in Matt. xix. 12 is doubtful as to its birthplace; and we are as little entitled to attribute the virgin victors (Rev. xiv. 4) to Jewish Christendom. These two passages only prove that the tendency combated by Paul (1 Cor. vii.) was not wholly isolated.

Of course this was not the predominant tendency in Corinth, or anywhere else in Gentile Christendom. It took a wholly secondary place to the other more natural forms of degeneracy. The collective picture is, however, completed when we add the excesses to be observed in the narrower sphere of religious rites, in the congregations themselves. The rush to take part in the so-called spiritual manifestations, the excess of zeal in prophecy, but, above all, the passion for the ecstatic speech with tongues, certainly sprang from familiarity with heathen religious customs.

§ 5. *Attitude to the Outer World*

It is only in view of all these aspirations, brought with it by the planting of Christianity on heathen soil, that we can adequately gauge the task and the achievement of Paul. The task which here presented itself was not merely to suppress excesses and to check unhealthy impulses; that could only be accomplished by the creation on the same ground of a pure

culture, in harmony with the nature of the Gospel. It is certainly not to be expected that all the special directions of the Apostle which aimed at this purpose should have attained their full effect, and that therefore his experiences give us a complete picture of the morality prevalent in the earliest Gentile Christian communities. But without doubt they became, to a large extent, the rule of conduct. It was due to them that the great Church of the empire could rise from these petty origins. Paul did not thereby create anything new within Christianity itself. He only, as it were, translated the teaching of Jesus into the language necessary for promoting the work in this sphere. By this very means the object of the Founder was fulfilled.

The first point was the attitude to the outer world. This was sketched at the outset quite clearly and simply, as was necessary if the practical conditions of the faith were to be fulfilled. It was done in two directions. The faith itself required to be pure, to be preserved in all its strength. The condition necessary for this was the prevention of all religious intermingling, and accordingly the complete extraction of the heathenism to be found in morality. On the other hand, it was necessary that the believers should live at perfect peace with the public administration, with the state, that they should be blameless citizens. That was the condition of the continued existence of the community, but at the same time also of the preservation of the spiritual character of their faith, of the trend of the Spirit towards another world. These two attitudes are apparently opposed: in reality they are inseparably connected. It required both to maintain the essential character of Christianity. So Jesus had separated His disciples from the Jewish schools, and had at the same time directed them to fulfil the public duties of religion. Now it was the heathen religion and heathen state that were in question. Yet the precedent could be applied.

Complete renunciation of the heathen religion involved the question of the use of sacrificial flesh, bound up in practice with that of social intercourse, at bottom ever a religious question.

Intercourse with heathens of itself constituted a problem for believers; in the above question the problem became acute. It was hard to avoid the use of sacrificial flesh; even if it was possible to withdraw from the sacrifice at the festival, it was more difficult to absent one's-self from the sacrificial meal. But even in other cases, whenever he was invited to dinner or supper, no one was sure that the food offered him was not sacrificial flesh; and it was quite as difficult always to avoid it when purchasing for one's own use. The situation was further aggravated by two parties, first by heathen acquaintances who aimed at involving the Christian in a dilemma (1 Cor. x. 28), and by fellow-believers who were on the watch to judge him (viii. 9. 10). Now a considerable section did not let all this intimidate them. They bought indiscriminately at the market, accepted invitations to private houses, and even to the place of worship. They were those who appealed to the knowledge of their new faith itself: if that taught that the gods were nought, then the sacrifice was not affected, and no pernicious effect could result from it. The flesh was like any other flesh. But if any man was willing to take offence, there was no need of ruling one's conduct by him; he ought to give up his prejudices (1 Cor. viii. 1-8). And some let themselves be carried away by this talk who did not themselves hold these views; they suffered themselves to be silenced, but bore a sting in their consciences (viii. 10 ff.). The doubts of the scrupulous did not spring from Judaism. It is only declared in the form of a side reference (x. 32) that one should not give offence to the Jews, any more than to the Gentiles and the Church of God, *i.e.* to converts and fellow-countrymen. The scruples were natural to the Gentile who had not yet broken completely away from belief in the reality and influence of his old gods.

Paul confronted all these perplexites and differences by contrasting the knowledge, which had been upheld, with love (viii. 1 ff.). The former puffed up, the latter edified. It was the spirit by which the knowledge was sustained that was important. Love to God was the decisive element. Hence it follows that it is our

duty to abstain from food where there is a risk of injuring our brother by giving him offence. Yet this was in the first place only laid down as a rule for the sacrificial meals (viii. 10 ff.). It was not to be pushed to the extent of leading the unprejudiced believer to renounce all social ties and to give up, finally, dealings in the market. Thus no one was bound to inquire, when buying, where the flesh came from; he was entitled to plead that whatever the earth produced was from God (x. 25, 26). So also he might as a guest accept the hospitality of a friend without asking questions (ver. 27). The case assumed a different aspect only when he was intentionally called on to notice that the food was sacrificial flesh (ver. 28). Then while he would maintain his conviction and freedom of conscience he would renounce his privilege for the sake of the other. Sure of his inner freedom, he was not obliged to set it in a false light, and to bring upon himself groundless imputations and slanders (ver. 29, 30). Thus by a temperate and wise distinction Paul solved these vexed questions as far as they had led to differences, deriving his solution from the supreme principle of corporate life. Yet this was not his whole answer. He had not yet questioned that knowledge on which the one party took its stand. The whole discussion rather started simply on the basis (viii. 4) that the innocent nature of sacrificial flesh was a consequence of the nothingness of the gods. But this conception was only correct subject to a certain reservation. The Apostle returns to the subject in order to throw light upon it from another point of view (x. 14 ff.). Already, in the previous discussion (viii. 5 f.), a kind of existence was undoubtedly allowed to the many gods and lords so-called, in heaven and on earth; only they were not God to our judgment, for there was only one God. What that existence really amounted to is now (x. 20) clearly expressed: 'these gods were demons.' Therefore the sacrifices were presented to demons, and he who took part in them entered into communion with the demons. This communion, however, was absolutely incompatible with that of the Lord's Table; and from this it followed that participation in

the sacrifice and—which was the important point—in the meal was not only to be condemned on account of the offence which it was liable to cause to a brother; it was objectionable in itself and exposed the Christian to the greatest dangers. 'We are not stronger than the Lord' (ver. 22); that is, if the demons existed for Him, they also exist for us. But in this Paul has not given up his earlier statements as to the nothingness of the gods regarded as divine; with obvious care he protects himself against any such imputation (x. 19). The one view does not exclude the other. It is still true that the εἰδωλόθυτον is nothing, and the εἴδωλον is nothing; for this very reason the offering goes to those spirits. Accordingly the Apostle did not so much pronounce the watchword of spiritual freedom, as warn against the dangers of heathenism, dangers whose magnitude resulted for him from the activity of the demons. The later avoidance of sacrificial flesh altogether was hardly therefore a departure from his teaching; the restriction took the most intelligible form; to this the daily fight with heathenism contributed its part.

On the other hand, Paul warned Christians against any separation from society unnecessary on account of religion, wherever danger to their own faith could be avoided. To this effect the direction was given in reference to mixed marriages, that the Christian husband was not to separate from the heathen wife, or, conversely, the Christian wife from the heathen husband, if the latter were agreed to continue the marriage (1 Cor. vii. 12, 13). The opinion that the Christian was obliged to separate from the other rested on the idea that the relations of the partners in a mixed marriage could only be unclean. Paul opposed this prejudice by explaining that the unbelieving man was sanctified by his wife and *vice versâ*: the Christian might regard his marriage as being sanctified on account of his faith by Christ (ver. 14). The consecration included the unbelieving partner, as also the children. By this we have to understand, not merely that the believer received permission to continue the marriage, but also that in it he enjoyed protection from the pernicious influences to which

marriage subjected unbelievers. The line of thought is quite the same as in the question as to sacrifice. The result is different however. It was impossible to escape the power of the demons at the sacrificial meal. In this instance the hostile powers were excluded. At the same time it was self-evident that the exemption ceased where the heathen refused to continue the marriage. That made the consecration impossible (ver. 15). It was still easier to draw the line in another case. Paul had written to Corinth, before the date of our First Epistle, that the brethren were to avoid communion with people of unchaste life. His words were misunderstood. They were referred to intercourse with outsiders, and no little excitement arose over a command which, thus understood, interfered in all possible private relationships, was fitted to cause the gravest complications, and was impracticable simply because it was impossible to judge every man with certainty and to examine into his life for that purpose. This was conveyed in a letter to the Apostle, and he hastened to correct the mistake. That he had not meant what they supposed was, as he says, self-evident: 'they would in that case require to go out of the world.' It was neither his part nor theirs to judge those outside; that was God's affair. What he had meant to say to them was, that they should not accept men of immoral conduct as brethren, even if they called themselves Christians (1 Cor. v. 9-13).

Of supreme importance, however, for the whole relationship to the world outside is the attitude to the state and the civil power. As decidedly as he had commanded separation from the heathen religion, Paul now directed the Christians, on the other hand, not merely to obey, but to believe in, the civil power. It was opinions and circumstances in the Roman Church which gave him cause to do so (Rom. xiii.). There could not be a doubt that thoughts of insubordination and revolt were inadmissible; it was necessary to suppress them because any action inspired by such a spirit, nay, the mere expression of such a temper, at once imperilled the very existence of the Church. But further, it started

the Christian on paths that were incompatible with the inner nature of the Gospel. Paul did away with all doubt by going to the root of the matter and answering the question, how the Christian was to regard the civil power itself, what it was to him in the light of his faith. And this he did in accordance with the absolute simplicity and clearness of his faith in God's creation and government of the world. There could be no authority not constituted by God. Its existence was enough to prove that it was ordained by God. Yet it was not the fact of the power alone that was only explicable from the Divine will: the object of the civil authority also proved that it formed part of the divine plan of the world. Paul did not withhold his recognition from the Roman state: 'it administered justice, repressing evil, but assisting the good.' It was not merely prudence, seeking to protect from punitive authority, that enjoined submission. Conscience was to move the Christian to submit, because he thus advanced in goodness himself, and helped to promote goodness generally. The demands made by the state upon the individual were not, however, matter of choice, but constituted a duty. He who formulated them had a right to do so, because he represented the divinely instituted order of the universe. And it was as much a duty and obligation for the Christian to satisfy these claims, by his means or personally, as to pay any debt which he legally owed to another.

This decisive view pointed out the way and precluded any evasion. The Christian's duty to the state had become a duty of the faith itself. The fact of the state being heathen was not considered. It was regarded wholly as a realisation of the idea of law. The faith itself was thus elevated to the position which fitted it for the grand vocation it was to fulfil in the history of the world. Paul did not in the least share in the narrow view which looked askance at the world outside the Church. That world belonged to the Christian, because it belonged to his God. And with this thought the Christian and the Church first attained their whole Divine vocation. That was not the Church of poor, suffer-

ing saints, in which later centuries found the Apostolic ideal of life; it was the Church of the world's future history. And this teaching endured in the Church. What Paul desired was realised, as is testified by those who in subsequent ages could appeal to the fact that the Christians were the best subjects of the Emperor.

§ 6. *Order in the Community*

As regards the internal life of the Church, its basis was furnished by the unconditional obligation of those admitted to lead a life of holiness in the Spirit. To Paul this obligation was a necessity, it was wholly inseparable from faith itself. From him we also learn, however, how it was expressed and safeguarded by a disciplinary institution, that of the ban. The use of the ban passed, without doubt, into the Primitive Christian community from Judaism. Paul himself still employed the anathema as an excommunication in the theocratic sense (Rom. ix. 3; 1 Cor. xii. 3, xvi. 22; Gal. i. 8, 9). On this notion there was now based the actual procedure of expulsion from the Church, a procedure with which we become acquainted, in its application, especially, to grave moral delinquencies, in 1 Cor. v. 1 ff. The Apostle proposed that the Church should exclude from its midst the sinner who had been guilty of unchastity (v. 3 f.). In a second case, that of a member who had insulted and risen against the Apostle, the Church had by a majority, after some vacillation, declared itself ready to pass a similar sentence; but the Apostle saw reason to recommend that the offender should be pardoned (2 Cor. ii. 5 ff., vii. 11 ff.). Exclusion from the Church was not, however, all that was involved. Paul associated with that the idea derived from the old institution of the ban, that the excommunicated person would necessarily die. He would be given over bodily to Satan for destruction, and the sentence of the Church thereby only effected what he himself effected who took part unworthily in the Lord's Supper, and who was in consequence punished with sickness and death (1 Cor. v. 5, cf. xi. 30). Paul, indeed, believed

that this very judgment upon the flesh was the means whereby his spirit, that which had entered into him through communion with Christ, could still be delivered. For the spirit belonged to God. While this is expressed in the present case, it is, at least in one respect, indicated in the other. It is to be seen in 2 Cor. ii. 11 that the Apostle desired the offender's pardon lest Satan should be given an advantage unnecessarily, and thus be enabled to overreach the Church. Accordingly the same consequence is here again assumed.

Paul directed the Church also to assume judicial functions in a sphere and sense different from the above (1 Cor. vi. 1 ff.). Here he speaks of disputes about personal property which the members were in the habit of bringing before the courts. To begin with, they should not let matters go so far as to have such complaints at all against each other. Better suffer wrong, better let themselves be robbed, than engage in a lawsuit. Here he reminds them of Jesus' own command. Instead of this, one brother robbed another. Such injustice was as far from being consistent with their faith as shameful misdeeds and gross crime. It excluded from the hope of the Kingdom of Heaven. But, further, the taking of their disputes before the courts was also to be condemned. The Apostle expresses the full sense of humiliation involved in calling upon heathens to judge them in questions which should not occur among them at all. In order to rouse this feeling in their breasts he tells them that they, the saints of God, were destined one day to judge the world, nay, the very angels. But how was the evil to be avoided, if they had disputes, and the parties did not come to an agreement? In that event the case should be at least settled within the community. There could not but be wise, experienced men among them, capable of arranging the business. The disputants ought to agree upon an arbitrator chosen from the brethren. This proposal was not inconsistent with the reverence for the state as the wielder of justice, inculcated by the Apostle in the letter to the Romans. There he was dealing with something different from the internal behaviour of the brethren, and the respect which they

had to retain in the opinions of those outside. In point of fact, the Apostle here paved the way for the administration of justice by the heads of the Church, a function which soon enough became a fixed institution.

The special duties which arose from the internal life of the community all proceeded from the application of the command to love. Love among the brethren did not essentially differ from love to a neighbour, yet it was something special, something loftier. For it was free from all the obstacles which elsewhere stood in the way; and its presupposition was that equality in Christ which had removed all the distinctions of rank, nation, and sex, that divided the human race. Here was unquestionably the most powerful impulse of the communal life, the irresistible attractiveness exerted by it. But it did not consist in the creation of harmonising regulations; no adjustment was preached or effected except that of the disposition.

This was especially evinced in two directions, in the question of the poor and in that of class. The poor, so far as we can see, were also at first in the vast majority among the Gentile Christians. That may be inferred generally from the absence of any warning against the dangers of wealth. But it is expressly stated in the case of the Corinthian Church. And yet rich, or at least well-to-do, people were not wanting in that very Church. It was indeed differences in means and in the corresponding style of living which threatened in the congregation there to become destructive of brotherly feeling and even of the Lord's Supper. Of community of goods, accordingly, there is here no word. The Apostle does not propose it even for the special object of the Communion service. The difficulties were to be removed, not by all contributing, and thus enabling the poor to eat along with the rich, but by each one taking his own meal at home. In this sphere the Apostle knows of no demonstration of fraternal love except beneficence, practised by each in proportion to his means. Still the Christian obtained a great deal as regards his material existence from the society. From actual want he could hardly suffer; the needy

always found some one to depend upon. Even in places where he arrived a stranger, he might be sure of being cared for. The voluntary diaconate had evidently a wide field. Men, individual women, whole households, furnished the rallying-points for others in Corinth, in Ephesus, in Philippi, and indeed everywhere. But the practice did not go beyond voluntary assistance; even the Apostle could only collect for charitable purposes, could only beg, advise, instruct. For this very reason the practice of this diaconate was regarded, like prophesying and teaching, as a charisma, a spiritual gift; it was to be carried out with simplicity and heartiness (1 Cor. xii. 28; Rom. xii. 8). But no one was attracted to the Church by the hope that he would rise from poverty to wealth, or that others would divide their property with them.

The case was hardly different with the distinction of classes. 'In Christ there was neither bond nor free.' The slave might in his own thought occupy the same position before God as any free man; he could, as well as the latter, exhort the rest in the congregation, in the Church; he was as much entitled as any one to employ his gifts. That was, at all events, something different from the satisfaction afforded by heathen religious guilds which admitted slaves. For it was associated with the certainty that all shared in the prospect, soon to be hoped for, of a kingdom of God in which the distinction should have wholly disappeared. But as regards the present, as regards this life, the distinction did not cease, even in brotherly intercourse with their fellow-believers. In those remarkable words in which Paul, in connection with the question of mixed marriages, states the principle that every one, being a Christian, should remain in the rank and calling in which he had become a Christian, he has expressly applied it to slaves (1 Cor. vii. 21). Simply because they had been so dearly purchased, they should remain as they were. Any change looked to the Apostle like a descent from the spiritual height of their consciousness, like a new bondage in which they passed from the state of inner freedom into the service of man, into an earthly life and its mode of thought. 'Wert thou called being a slave, let not that

trouble you; and even if thou canst become free, prefer to remain as you are. The slave who is called in the Lord is the Lord's freedman.' The Apostle did not merely seek in these words to comfort the slave, but he meant that it did not become him who possessed this higher blessing to desire the lower. He accordingly absolutely forbade the slave to strive for freedom. We may not simply deduce this teaching from the fact of his ascribing but a short duration to the present state of the world. Its deeper source was rather his conviction that even in the present the Christian should live in another, a spiritual, world, and should possess his all in that. There may be many ideas of the purpose of the Gospel to confer blessedness on the world with which this does not harmonise. But its world-conquering mission was only thus to be maintained. Even the letter to Philemon does not go beyond Paul's line of thought. For that writing does not imply that Philemon had to manumit the slave restored to him, but that, being now a brother, the slave was become more precious to his master. He was sent back, however, because he was Philemon's property. But the letter is so closely connected with that to the Colossians, that it could only be attributed to Paul, if we were certain that the latter was his.

Brotherly equality among Christians was not merely to be understood, however, as involving no removal of civil and social distinctions. Even in the life peculiar to the community, in the religious domain itself—the interchange of gifts, with which each served the other and the whole—that equality by no means signified identity in position. The different gifts, as also their corresponding operations and effects, were only equal in being from one Spirit, under one Lord, and of one God. Variety of honour and even of value was not thereby removed; and hence, also, arose, on the one hand, envy and jealousy, on the other, pride and conceit. The objective cause of these frictions could not be removed. The inferior could only be taught that his service was also indispensable for the whole, the superior that he needed the inferior (1 Cor. xii. 15-24). It was the variety of the members that

secured the co-operation of forces, and the unified composition of one body. The members could not all be the same; without difference life was inconceivable. Only a moral adjustment was here possible and necessary. Even to this nature indicated the way. The lower operations were so important to life that they were preferred by nature itself; and custom followed nature and removed all offence. By this example we were directed to give marked honour to the inferior, and to deprive existing distinctions of all power to irritate; the distinctions themselves were of God. No one was to seek to get beyond them by striving after higher gifts. There was only one thing that transcended them, and that was love. Contentment, which was so apt to be lost if we looked at others, was to be preserved by each devoting himself wholly to his own task, and by his attaining the full consciousness of its object, as well as of the disposition wich ennobled it. That is the meaning of the noble exhortation in Rom. xii. 3-8.

§ 7. *Women and Marriage*

The distinction between the sexes was in exactly the same position as those affecting means, rank, and gifts. 'In Christ there was neither male nor female.' And that did not merely mean that the two sexes had the same interest in redemption. They were also placed on a level in the highest matters pertaining to their religious life, in the gifts of the Spirit. But in marriage, also, Paul gave both parties an equal right to form the most important resolves. The question as to mixed marriages remained identical, whether the man or woman was the Christian (1 Cor. vii. 12 f.). And during marriage neither was exclusively entitled to decide upon how it was to be observed: that was to be a matter of mutual agreement alone (vii. 4 f.). But all this did not involve an equality which should indiscriminately confer upon the woman the rights of the man. Paul did not in any way go beyond the conception of woman's position which at bottom belonged to the whole ancient world. He only expressed it in a form readily

grasped by the Christian, when he compared the relation of woman to man with the believing man's subordination to Christ, and Christ's to God (1 Cor. xi. 3). As the glory of God was mirrored in the creation of man, so woman was but a reflection of the nature of man (xi. 7). And Paul proves this from the history of creation, because, according to it, the woman was created from, as well as for, the man (xi. 8 f.).

The object of all this in the present case was to regulate a custom, or rather, to oppose a practice unobjectionable to Greek Christians, and to substitute for it the Jewish custom. According to this, women were only to appear with their heads covered, a regulation that first suggests the congregational meetings. It may be conjectured, it is not however stated, that this might seem advisable to Paul because of a danger to morality. The reasons adduced by him are meant to show that it neither could, nor should, be otherwise. The evidence is taken first from nature, and from the natural feeling that required the woman to let her hair grow; but, secondly, from Holy Scripture; for he inferred from the history of creation that the woman was under the dominion of the man. Finally, it was also necessary in another respect that woman should be marked to denote this subordination; the reason is only briefly hinted at, but it is also scriptural. The reference is to the angels (xi. 10), who are not to be misled and seduced under the idea that they had unowned property before them (cf. Gen. vi.). It was accordingly necessary that the Greeks should adopt this fashion as well as primitive Christendom, the Churches of God (xi. 16). In this matter Paul was not merely anxious about morality; his thought was bound up in Jewish ideas, just as his argument breathes wholly the spirit of the Jewish exposition of Scripture. But the indisputable and obvious inference is that in this sphere also the existing distinction was not to be removed or lessened; on the contrary, it was to be fully taught to these heathen Christians who disregarded it. Once more, however, the vindication of the higher equality was not omitted. Paul adds, modifying what he has

said: yet in the Lord, *i.e.*, in the marriage of believers, the man shall recognise his union with the woman as of such a nature that he forms with her an indissoluble unity, and *vice versâ*. And he has again a proof in support of this: for as the first woman was taken from the man, so also, woman's mission being to bear children, the man springs from her—an evident sign that their unity was constituted by God, that marriage as marriage was from God. But the previous doctrine is not thereby reversed, the subordination existed within this unity.

The Apostle afterwards expressed himself as to the position of women when he comes to speak of their participation in the conferences held by the Church, using almost sharper language than in the discussion of their head-covering. The woman was to continue in her state of subordination (1 Cor. xiv. 34). And Paul deduced from this position, whose justification he did not here require to repeat, that women ought not to speak in the congregation. It is implied in the preceding discussion (xi. 5) that a woman not only prayed but prophesied, and it was to this that the command to cover the head was applied. She then stood in the presence of God, and required to show herself in the guise that corresponded to her destiny in life. Now, on the contrary, speaking is forbidden her, and characterised as unseemly. The contradiction is only indeed apparent. It is not even certain that in the command (xi. 5) Paul referred to praying and prophesying in the congregation. But, on the other hand, this is not absolutely precluded by xiv. 34. What is here forbidden is the taking part in the conferences: they were to be silent, and to subordinate themselves, when the men framed decrees; they were not even to speak on the pretext of desiring information; they could ask their husbands at home. The matters here in question are wholly different from those discussed in xi. 5.

In both these cases Paul was opposed by a certain stubbornness which discarded his rules and would not give up its own demand. Women's rights, deduced from the equality conferred by the faith, seem to have been advocated with peculiar zeal.

There were so-called prophets and spiritual men who championed them in Corinth (1 Cor. xiv. 37). Paul advanced against them, not only all his own authority, but also the custom of the Primitive Christian Church, and a tradition of the Lord Himself. What he may have meant by the latter is not known. But the Apostle was so certain of it that he could say: 'If any man knows it not, he is past help.' It is remarkable that rules in whose case he preserved the tradition of the Primitive Church, if they ever found acceptance at all, soon in part passed away, while his own regulations, with which he strove to establish a similar morality in the Gentile Christian Churches, *e.g.* the adherence to their calling and rank (1 Cor. vii. 17), maintained their ground.

To the Apostle's special regulations affecting the moral life belong further his instructions and precepts as to marriage and celibacy, and they share with the matters last discussed the attribute of being conditioned by actual circumstances. The seventh chapter of 1 Corinthians is full of information, and what it contains at least was evidently called forth almost throughout by reports from the Church and queries connected with them. It is expressly stated at the beginning that what followed referred to the letter received from the Church. At the head of the whole, Paul set the doctrine that a man would be best to have nothing to do with a woman. Marriage was, however, good for the sake of avoiding unchastity; and where it existed no husband or wife should withdraw from the other, except at most for a certain period, and for the purpose of an undisturbed devotional life. Even then the withdrawal should only take place if voluntarily agreed upon. No part of this was commanded; yet it was always the higher choice to refrain from marriage—only the power to do so was to be regarded as dependent on a special gift. So far goes the first section of the discussion (vii. 1-9). It is easy to perceive that it referred to communications, according to which fanatical abstinence had led to disputes and contradictory views. The second section (vii. 10-24) deals with the question of divorce, in the first place generally, and

then with special reference to mixed marriages. The general question is decided by Christ's command: the fact that some, principally women, strove to escape from their marriage altogether gave occasion for the repetition of the injunction. In this instance, again, there existed, as regards mixed marriages, opposite tendencies and opinions which called for correction. Finally, the third section (vii. 25-38) contains the answer to an inquiry as to the position of the virgins. Here a new and distinctive custom had grown up; it necessarily met with opposition; and attention could already be drawn to the dangers threatened by it. The Apostle approved the custom, but he warned against the peril involved in carrying it to excess. In conclusion (ver. 39, 40), he reverts once more to the widows, and repeats what he had already said (ver. 8 f.) that they would be better not to marry again, though they were at perfect liberty to do so. The emphasis with which he appeals to the Spirit of God, 'which he had,' proves that here again he had to combat an opposite view advanced under prophetic authority. This view probably consisted in the doctrine that it was unconditionally better for the widows, as well as for virgins past their prime, to marry; and this would explain why Paul seems here to repeat himself. Yet the repetition was probably due to a special question having been put which is here answered in its order, while, above, the subject had only been mentioned incidentally. It is possible that in ver. 39 the emphasis of the declaration falls on this, that the widow was to be free in the choice of her second husband.

Now if we review the whole discussion, it is indisputable that in his decisions on all these questions, withdrawal in marriage, divorce, virgins, and widows, Paul started from the one conviction, that celibacy is to be ranked higher than married life. Yet his directions bear throughout the impress of prudence and wisdom; nothing was to occur which could, under cover of a striving after holiness, produce a greater evil. But the opinion itself remained. Now, he has undoubtedly, and especially in the question concerning the virgins, grounded his opinion on the distress of the time

(vii. 26), which taught them to devote their life and their every thought entirely to the cause of the Lord, and to withdraw from all worldly care (ver. 32 ff.), and which also pointed to the certainty that this world was near its end (ver. 31). From this reflection sprang also the exhortation only to hold marriage, and wife, and every worldly possession, in all freedom of soul, without suffering thought and spirit to be fettered (ver. 29-31). But this motive does not exhaust the explanation of Paul's judgment upon marriage and celibacy. It had another more general basis. This is given in vii. 2, where marriage is described as permitted, yet only as a preventive of unchastity. It was only a concession that was in question (ver. 6). That fell to the ground where the gift of continence existed (ver. 7). And it held good that marriage was only not a sin (ver. 28). The additional statements that husband and wife strove to please each other, and therefore occupied themselves with the things of this world (32 ff.), could only strengthen this decision. Marriage could become imperative in view of the sensuous impulse (ver. 36); in that case it was to be recommended. But ever higher stood the virtue which mastered the senses without that expedient (ver. 37 f.). Marriage was then essentially subordinated to this point of view.

It can hardly be said that this view was only due in the above passage to the special conditions and opinions prevalent in the Corinthian Church. The regulations in 1 Thess. iv. 3 f. agree with it; their general aim is also to secure abstinence from unchastity, and the object of marriage is again looked at from the physical point of view. And the only remaining explanation of his judgment is, that, on account of its sensuous side, he included marriage in the sphere of the flesh, in which fruits of the Spirit only flourished through successful conflict and endurance. In that sphere, forbidden and permitted covered the whole ground. That broader view, in keeping with which the Apostle was able to recommend all that was lovely, he did not apply to marriage. Here he rather laid the foundation of the churchly ideal of virginity. His ideas were inextricably bound up with his doctrine of the

flesh, sprung from a Jewish mode of thought, and in harmony with the estimate of the sensuous life then widespread precisely among the better of the heathens. In order to do them justice, however, it is necessary to remember the gigantic war which Christendom in general, and Paul in particular, had to wage with immorality. With this almost superhuman task before us the one-sidedness of the view almost ceases to surprise us. Besides, traces are not altogether wanting of another conception having suggested itself to the Apostle. Thus, he indicates (1 Thess. iv. 4 f.) that marriage could be concluded in another way than under the influence of sensuous passion: it might be chaste and honourable. Thus, the mixed marriage led him to hold that in marriage itself an influence due to the faith, or rather to the Lord, was introduced, which embraced even the heathen partner, and that a pacific power was given therewith which overcame all difficulty (1 Cor. vii. 13 f.). And his utterances of this sort are crowned by the saying: 'In the Lord it holds true that the man without the woman is as imperfect as the woman without the man' (xi. 11). In this we have all the elements of the perception that the unique union of marriage was also the birthplace of an unprecedented and incomparable ethical culture, and precisely in the form of a union in the faith was to attain its highest development.

In summing up the result of the Apostle's precepts in regulating the Christian rite, we find, in the first place, that the inviolability of the marriage bond was introduced on heathen soil. Of the contracting of mixed marriages nothing is said. Those in question had only assumed this character during their existence: they are contemplated as complete marriages. During the duration of the tie no one-sided withdrawal was permitted. Remarriage on the part of widows was sanctioned. Voluntary celibacy was to be held sacred, and this determined the view to be taken of the order of declared virgins, as also of the widows remaining unmarried. We may assume that these principles, in all essential respects, secured acceptance. An order of virgins, as of widows, became in time a widespread institution. It is in any case an

important feature of the association formed by the faith that it extended the power of its purifying morality over this sphere of life. And it had here perfect freedom to shape its course. Its principles infringed upon no right: they only induced the individual to refrain from using rights which he possessed.

SECTION III.—LATER GROWTHS

§ 1. *Pauline Tradition*

The test, as it were, for the Apostolic labours in the domain of Christian morality lies before us in the writings which arose at or very soon after the close of the Apostolic age, and which speak, under the names of Apostles, for their own time. They furnish, precisely for the customs of the period, certain necessary additional information, and at the same time show sufficiently the results of the conflicts and aspirations of the preceding age. The Epistle to the Colossians and, following upon it, Ephesians, as also 1 Peter, come in the immediate wake of the Apostle Paul. Colossians is still, so far as general points of view and principles are concerned, pervaded by a genuinely Pauline spirit. The antithesis of the old man and the new, of the heavenly and earthly mind, the spirit of love and peace as the foundation of all virtue, still attest this continuation, and the freely composed pictures of the Christian life in the exhortation (iii. 5-17) are quite as naturally sketched as in the similar exhortations by Paul himself. Morality is here again conceived and represented as the immediate fruit of faith. Only one thing indicates the change of period, and that is the list of commandments for the classes—women, men, children, fathers, slaves, and masters (iii. 18–iv. 1). This list constitutes a formal table of commandments, which again is by no means clearly connected with the rest of the writing, but may have been borrowed from common use and inserted in its present place. It at any rate proves that the want had come to be felt of a popular

code of practical rules. The leading point of view, manifestly, is obedience, and the commandments therefore apply primarily to women, children, and slaves; the corresponding directions for men, fathers, and masters balance and supplement the others. The whole presents a brief household code of rules.

The letter to the Ephesians carries us, under the name of Paul, a step further on the same way. In all its parts it bears still more strongly the character of a churchly imitation, and confirms, by the authoritative dictum of the Apostle, the contemporary office of the pastorate, *i.e.*, of the superintendents who at the same time were teachers. The household regulations recur in a considerably extended form, which is characterised especially by the fact that it connects the list of Christian usages with the ancient law, thus harmonising the old and the new. But the household table is no longer satisfactory by itself. It has become (v. 22–vi. 9) the middle section of an extended little law-book. It is preceded by a first part (iv. 25–v. 21), which, while principally devoted to social duties, also contains those that are general, and which though modelled on the free exhortation of Colossians (iii. 5–7) has made of that passage a short systematic collection of commandments enjoining truthfulness, control of anger, earning honourably by industry, watchfulness over the tongue, goodness and mercifulness, chastity and temperance. For the third part, a brief treatise on the Christian aids to virtue is appended (vi. 10-18), which, starting from the thought that the believer is engaged in a war with evil spirits, describes those aids under the artificial figure of a complex armoury.

1 Peter, although its writer has chosen to introduce it under the name of the great primitive Apostle, belongs essentially to this series of imitations of Paul's didactic and hortatory writings. The household table of duties is once more to be recognised (ii. 13–iii. 12), and it has been inserted in the body of the letter, the joining being perfectly discernible. At the same time it has been revised in harmony with the objects of the moment. Obedience is once more the governing thought; but since the real

purpose of the letter is to point out to believers their proper attitude during persecution, a new article is taken up and given the first place, namely, obedience to the emperor and governors, with which the duty of slaves is combined. The threefold division is preserved in the list by the omission of the children. The wives, who are elsewhere placed first, form the third division, and the command to them has been revised in keeping with the circumstances of the time, being especially applied to their attitude in mixed marriages, and in general to the effect of the conduct of Christian wives on those without the Church. Two other features are to be noticed as marking a further development. First, in spite of the decidedly Pauline foundation, un-Pauline ideas have also been adopted. In keeping with the situation at the time, suffering for the Gospel was regarded as the peculiar test of the Christian. But to this is added (iv. 1) the advanced conception of a purifying influence being exerted by Christ's own sufferings, which 'put sin to sleep.' And so also it is said (iv. 8) that the exercise of love covers a multitude of sins, *i.e.* secures their forgiveness. This last thought, which again meets us in another quarter, proves that the author of 1 Peter, while he appropriated Pauline ideas, yet stood on other ground. The second peculiarity of our letter is connected with a developed pastoral office held by the elders in the Church. In consequence, this relationship is also the subject of a special exhortation in which the contrasted duties of these elders, and the corresponding ones of the younger men, are treated after the plan of the household table of commandments (v. 1 ff., 5 ff.).

All these witnesses let us perceive the tendency to formulas, the straining after a fixed list of rules; and the way was thus opened up for those Christian commandment-tables which distinguish the post-Apostolic age.

Still more remote, and yet forming part of the succession from Paul, are the Pastoral Letters which again bear his name, those claiming special attention being 1 Timothy and Titus. The former gives us once more a compilation of class duties; but we

have here yet another revision. The household table is abandoned; for what is said as to men and women (ii. 8, 9 ff.) applies not so much to the household, as to the general conduct of the two sexes, in their several characters and tasks. This passage is followed by the elaboratedly detailed commands for bishops and deacons (iii. 1 ff., 8 ff.). Another table has been drawn up which is chiefly composed of ecclesiastical ordinances (iv. 11–vi. 2). They are ecclesiastical orders which here have their duties and rights pointed out to them, the first being the superintendent—in the person of Timothy himself—then the widows, and the elders. And an appendix is composed of the instructions to slaves.

The letter to Titus consists almost entirely of a compilation of commandments, arranged in the first part according to classes—elders in their official capacity, then old men and women, young men and slaves (i. 5 ff., ii. 1 ff., 3 ff., 6 ff., 9 ff.); the second part contains general Christian duties with reference to external relations (ii. 11–iii. 7). Regarded generally, we find, in comparison with Paul's exhortations, that great points of view have passed into the background, and that prominence is given to particular practical precepts, to the elaboration of a moral teaching meant for all sorts of cases and relationships. Especially instructive is the comparison of the all-determining foundation furnished by faith; it could hardly be proved more clearly how decisive was the manner of conceiving that for the ethic itself. In Paul the Christian was transplanted into another life; here it is rendered possible for him through Christ to become changed; and this again involves the position that the renewal itself assumes the character of a work. Faith itself has become a doctrine, to guard which is a duty. Essentially the same reconstruction can be traced through all these post-Pauline writings, including the present letter. It may be described as the transition from the heights of inspiration to everyday usage, and this explanation is in and by itself thoroughly sufficient. But individual features, as especially in 1 Peter, prove that a mingling had taken place of

Pauline with Judaistic teaching, and that the later generation had combined the traditions of all parties.

Even the Letter to the Hebrews, whose doctrine was unquestionably subject to Pauline influence, reveals a similar fusion in the domain of ethics. Faith itself as obedience has become the foundation of all Christian virtue (xi.). Faith and patience inherit the promises (vi. 12 [9]). That is the perfection to which Christians, leaving behind them the elementary stages of Christian teaching, are to advance (vi. 1).

§ 2. *Jewish Christian Influence*

To Jewish Christianity decidedly belongs the letter which, bearing the name of James, reveals both the full veneration of the law and the wisdom that, resting in the comprehension of the law, was also the highest moral good. What is said of zeal in teaching and speaking, as well of the pernicious nature of selfishness and of the honour paid to wealth, takes us right into the life of the Jewish community, of primitive Christians returned to life. All the misdeeds which take place within this community point to Jewish characteristics and Jewish descent. Here again the command to love our neighbour is known as the royal law ; but it only signifies that the commandments of the law must all be fulfilled. What Paul declared to be impossible is in this book the aim of the Christian—the striving to attain this type of perfection. The morality of the letter attaches itself to the later version formed in the Primitive Church of the Lord's words : we have the same glorification of poverty, the same tendency to a scrupulous application of the principles in detail. It has inherited the spirit of humility and mercy from the Gospel. But it has reverted to the law. It clings with a marked preference to certain traditions of the earliest period, to the prohibition of oaths, and to the anointing of the sick with oil. It observes the mutual confession of sin, and, believing in the power of such meritorious action to atone for sin, zealously promotes the conversion of

erring brethren. It is works which give life to faith, and make man just.

The Apocalypse sprang just as certainly from Jewish Christianity although it depicts quite another form of it than the Epistle of James. While the latter is based on the exclusiveness of the Jewish Christian community, the Jewish Christian mode of thought appears in the former in the midst of the great world, and relaxes its bonds, though still sparingly enough, yet with promise of vast results, in the recognition of the great Church. Two motives have here co-operated. On the one hand, Gentile Christianity had proved its genuineness incontestably during persecution. On the other hand, the faith of the Jewish Christians had been bitterly persecuted by their compatriots. It had now come to this, that doubtless the remnant alone of Israel entered the kingdom of the Lord; for that is the meaning of the 144,000 from the twelve tribes of Israel. In contrast to this there came to their side the multitudes from the heathen world, who had borne their testimony in the great tribulation. And not these alone; yet another symbol proves that God had won His people among the Gentiles also. A multitude as vast as the remnant of Israel (cf. xiv. 1, and vii. 4) had proved in another way that they had escaped from the service and life of heathenism; those were the Christians who had kept the vow of chastity. It is wholly in keeping with the crisis when the book was composed and with the temper of the period, that these heroic virtues of martyrdom and virginity exhaust the seer's view of the genuine proofs of Christianity. The highest type, to which he looked, was that of a pure and holy Church. In the epistles to the Churches again, works constitute the basis for the tribunal of God and the moral judgment, but the final decision consists in the attestation of constancy. Historically the lofty estimate of virginity in the Apocalypse is also noteworthy, because it proves, from a wholly different quarter, the spread of the vow of chastity of which we know from Paul.

The last link, however, in this chain is formed by 1 John, still Jewish in origin and in the form of thought and expression, and

yet wholly denationalised in its radical principles, adopting as it does faith in Jesus the Son of God, in the revelation of God as love —the fully realised sonship of God—and therewith faith in the absolutely universal redemption. The writer's assertions, that the command to love is at once old and new, and that there is no difference between sin and transgression of the law, show how he abandoned the old limitations without giving up his belief in the sacredness of the law. For the rest, the ethical teaching of the letter is as entirely founded on the revelation of Christ and the new birth from God, it is as completely conceived in the creative spirit of Christianity, as it is in the writings of Paul. Here also everything is given in its grand features—truth, love, overcoming of the world, with their antitheses of sin, world, and devil. Nevertheless, that is not the conception that secured victory to the Gospel. The spirit of this ethic is contemplative and exclusive. It is the view of a temper wrapped in itself, a view which could satisfy and promote the quiet life of an isolated community, but could not render possible the task involved in the grand mission to the world. For that it had no taste. The members of this circle were able to recognise and contemplate, but not to take part in, the great work. But, that we are now moving in a later time is confirmed by the adoption of a distinction between deadly and venial sins, and by the references to many false forms of Christianity. The letter may be regarded as a witness to the fact that the ethical thought of Christianity existed as a settled habitude of life. Yet what had thus come to pass in the great Church points us back to the triumphant foundation-work of the Apostle Paul.

INDEX OF TEXTS

MATTHEW.

I. 1, i. 129.
III. 10, ii. 344.
11, ii. 252.
V. ii. 57.
3-12, ii. 47.
3 ff., i. 34.
10, ii., 345.
11, ii. 348.
13-16, i. 30, ii. 47, 345.
17-19, i. 35, ii. 341.
17 ff., i. 125.
20, i. 35.
21-48, ii. 46.
21 ff., i. 35.
22, ii. 341, 346.
23, ii. 341.
25, ii. 316.
28 ff., ii. 345.
32, ii. 345.
34-37, ii. 345.
37, ii. 29.
39, ii. 346
44 ff., ii. 346.
46, ii. 345.
48, ii. 343.
VI. ii. 59.
1-18, i. 37, ii. 47.
1-4, ii. 346.
5-8, ii. 344.
9, ii. 258.
10, ii. 343.
12-15, ii. 346.
16 ff., ii. 342.
19-34, i. 34, II. 47.
19-21, ii. 345.
20, ii. 29.
21 f., ii. 344.
24, ii. 29, 343.

MATTHEW.

VI. 25-34, ii. 344 f.
25, ii. 284.
31, ii. 284.
33, ii. 343.
VII. ii. 29, 47.
1, ii. 29.
6, ii. 348.
7-11, ii. 344.
7, ii. 29.
17, ii. 29, 344.
18, ii. 29.
22, i. 51, ii. 300.
23, ii. 341.
24, ii. 343, 344.
26, ii. 29.
28, ii. 40.
VIII. 4, ii. 342.
10, ii. 349.
18-22, ii. 347.
22, ii. 347.
23-27, ii. 344.
IX. 13, ii. 43, 342.
14 ff., ii. 342.
16 ff., ii. 43, 342.
X. ii. 48, 58, 59.
5-15, ii. 48.
5, ii. 348.
7, ii. 343.
11, ii. 43.
16, ii. 345.
17-23, ii. 49.
17, i. 46, 61.
18, i. 46.
20, ii. 213, 344.
21, ii. 347.
24-42, ii. 48.
26, i. 30, ii. 345.
27, i. 30.
28-31, ii. 344.

MATTHEW.

X. 32, ii. 345.
34 ff., i. 61.
35, ii. 347.
37, ii. 343.
38, i. 130, ii. 300.
39, ii. 348.
40, ii. 300, 302.
41, i. 51, ii. 300, 302.
42, ii. 300.
XI. 1, ii. 40.
2, i. 128.
19, ii. 284.
25, ii. 344.
27, i. 127.
29 f., ii. 343.
XII. 1 ff., ii. 342.
6, ii. 342.
7, ii. 342.
9 ff., ii. 342.
18 ff., i. 42.
30, ii. 347.
32, i. 128, ii. 344.
33, ii. 29, 344.
46 ff., ii. 347.
XIII. ii. 49, 50.
1 ff., ii. 344.
8, ii. 29.
11 ff., i. 124.
12, ii. 43.
14 ff., i. 42.
21 f., ii. 348.
24, ii. 50.
31, ii. 50, 351.
32, ii. 351.
33, ii. 351.
34 f., ii. 50.
41, ii. 341.
44, ii. 347.
45, ii. 50.

MATTHEW.

XIII. 47, ii. 50.
52, i. 124.
53 ff., ii. 347.
53, ii. 40.
55, i. 19.
XV. 5, ii. 342.
9, ii. 303.
11, ii. 342.
26, ii. 284, 348.
XVI. 6 ff., ii. 345.
8, ii. 284.
13, i. 127.
18 ff., ii. 207.
23, ii. 347.
24, i. 130.
25 f., ii. 348.
XVII. 9, i. 128.
20, ii. 344.
24 ff., ii. 342.
27, ii. 348.
XVIII. ii. 52, 60.
1-5, ii. 53.
3, ii. 344.
5, ii. 52.
6 ff., ii. 52.
6, ii. 347.
10, ii. 347.
12-14, ii. 53.
12, ii. 343.
14, ii. 347.
15, ii. 30, 346.
18, ii. 30.
19, ii. 30, 259, 344.
20, ii. 282.
21, ii. 346.
28, ii. 346.
XIX. 1, ii. 40.
3-9, ii. 304.
6, ii. 345.
12, ii. 348, 372.
17, ii. 341.
18 f., ii. 345.
21, ii. 348.
23 ff., ii. 348.
27, ii. 347.
28 ff., ii. 341.
28, ii. 292.
29, ii. 347.
XX. 1-16, ii. 54.

MATTHEW.

XX. 14, ii. 347.
16, ii. 54.
20 f., ii. 341.
23, ii. 347.
26, ii. 323.
28, i. 130, ii. 323.
XXI. 12, ii. 341.
21, ii. 30.
22, ii. 344.
25, ii. 252.
XXI. 28-XXII. 14, ii. 53.
XXI. 28, ii. 343.
XXII. 1 ff., ii. 343.
4, ii. 284.
7, ii. 54.
21, ii. 348.
34 ff., i. 127, ii. 341.
37-40, ii. 304.
39, ii. 346.
42 ff., ii. 224.
XXIII. ii. 54.
1, ii. 54.
2-12, ii. 55.
3, ii. 55, 341.
8 ff., ii. 342, 347.
13-33, ii. 54.
23, ii. 55, 341.
28, ii. 341.
34-39, ii. 55.
34, i. 51, ii. 300.
XXIV. 4 f., ii. 24.
9-14, ii. 23.
11, i. 51, ii. 300.
15, ii. 24, 276.
20, ii. 93.
23 ff., ii. 24.
24, i. 51, ii. 187, 300.
33, ii. 30.
38, ii. 348.
XXV. 35 ff., ii. 346.
XXVI. 1, ii. 40.
26-28, ii. 280.
26 f., ii. 280.
29, ii. 282.
31, i. 1.
32, i. 2.
63, i. 127.
64, i. 127.

MATTHEW.

XXVI. 75, ii. 207.
XXVIII. 7, i. 2.
10, i. 2.
17, i. 11.
19, i. 2, ii. 252, 254.

MARK.

I. 2 f., i. 42.
8, ii. 252.
44, ii. 342.
II. 21 ff., ii. 43.
IV. ii. 50.
21, ii. 42, 50.
22, i. 30, ii. 42.
24, ii. 50.
25, ii. 43.
26 ff., ii. 30.
30, ii. 50.
VI. 7-13, ii. 49.
VII. 7, ii. 303.
IX. 33-50, ii. 53.
40, ii. 347.
X. 35 ff., ii. 341.
38 f., ii. 252.
XI. 30, ii. 252.
XII. 33, ii. 342.
XIII. 9-13, ii. 23, 49.
14, ii. 276.
18, ii. 23.
21 ff., ii. 24.
29, ii. 30.
XIV. 18, ii. 284.
22-24, ii. 280.
25, ii. 282.
27, i. 1, 41.
28, i. 2.
61, i. 127.
XVI. 7, i. 2.
8, i. 11.
16, ii. 252.

LUKE.

I. 4, ii. 278.
II. 14, ii. 287.
III. 16, ii. 252.
V. 32, ii. 42.
39, ii. 43.

LUKE.

VI. 20-26, ii. 349.
20 ff., i. 34, 56.
24, ii. 30.
27, ii. 56, 57.
34, ii. 350.
37 f., ii. 350.
39, ii. 56.
40, ii. 350.
43 f., ii. 29.
47, ii. 56.
VII. 1, ii. 56.
19, i. 128.
VIII. 4-15, ii. 51.
16, ii. 42.
17, i. 30, ii. 42.
18, ii. 43.
IX.-XVIII. ii. 58.
IX. 1-6, ii. 49.
46-50, ii. 53.
IX. 51-XVIII. 14, ii. 41.
X.-XVIII. ii. 56, 63.
X. ii. 58, 59.
1, i. 31.
2-11, ii. 49.
4 ff., ii. 350.
4, ii. 49, 350.
7, ii. 43, 49, 350.
8, ii. 350.
10 f., ii. 350.
18, ii. 25.
22, i. 127.
33 ff., ii. 350.
XI. ii. 55.
5 ff., ii. 350.
12, ii. 350.
14-16, ii. 41.
33-36, ii. 42.
39, ii. 54.
42-48, ii. 54.
52, ii. 54.
XII. ii. 59.
1, ii. 41.
2 f., i. 30.
9, ii. 42.
10, i. 128, ii. 42.
18, ii. 30.
21, ii. 349.
22-34, i. 34.
42, ii. 350.

LUKE.

XII. 45, ii. 350.
50, ii. 252.
XIII. 19, ii. 50.
21, ii. 50.
25, ii. 30.
26, ii. 284.
XIV. i. 56, ii. 59.
1-6, ii. 59, 60.
7-14, ii. 59.
7, ii. 350.
13, ii. 350.
15-24, ii. 60, 284.
XV. ii. 60, 351.
1 f., ii. 41.
4-7, ii. 53.
XVI. ii. 349.
14, ii. 41, 45.
16-18, ii. 43.
17, ii. 61, 341.
29, ii. 61.
XVII. 1 f., ii. 53.
1 ff., ii. 60.
3 f., ii. 53.
11, i. 247.
16, ii. 350.
XVIII. 9, ii. 41.
XIX. 26, ii. 43.
XX. 4, ii. 252.
XXI. 1-4, ii. 349.
12-19, ii. 23, 49.
XXII. 17, ii. 280, 283.
18, ii. 283.
19, ii. 280.
20, ii. 280, 283.
26 f. ii. 350.
30, ii. 284.
35-38, ii. 350.
XXIV. 11, i. 11.
30, ii. 284.
30 f., i. 53.
34, i. 11.
37, i. 11.
41, i. 11.

JOHN.

I. 5, ii. 216.
6, ii. 226.
10, ii. 215, 216.

JOHN.

I. 11, ii. 215.
14, ii. 225.
15, ii. 226.
17 f., ii. 217.
19, ii. 225, 226.
26 ff., ii. 226.
48, ii. 225.
II. 6, ii. 225.
13, ii. 225.
20-22, ii. 152.
19, i. 65.
III. 11, ii. 225.
13, ii. 225.
22, ii. 252.
23 ff., ii. 226.
25, ii. 222.
26, ii. 252.
IV. 2, ii. 252.
20-24, ii. 215.
22, ii. 220.
25, ii. 219.
34, ii. 284.
38, ii. 212.
39-42, ii. 219.
V. 1 ff., ii. 216.
18, ii. 221.
19 ff., ii. 216.
31 ff., ii. 220, 223, 224.
33 ff., ii. 226.
39 ff., ii. 224.
39, ii. 217, 222.
41 ff., ii. 223.
45 f., ii. 217.
VI. 27, ii. 284.
32, ii. 217.
33, ii. 284.
35 ff., ii. 284.
41, ii. 283.
45, ii. 222.
48 ff., ii. 222.
48, ii. 283.
51, ii. 283.
VII. 15, ii. 223.
18, ii. 223.
23, ii. 216.
35, ii. 219.
41 f., ii. 220.
52, ii. 220.

JOHN.

VIII. 12 ff., ii. 220.
13 ff., ii. 223.
32 ff., ii. 223.
33 ff., ii. 217.
41 ff., ii. 223.
48, ii. 220.
50, ii. 223.
53 ff., ii. 221.
54, ii. 223.
IX. 1 ff., ii. 222.
29, ii. 220.
34, ii. 220.
X. 3 f., ii. 218.
8, ii. 217.
12, ii. 213.
16, ii. 153, 213, 218.
33, ii. 221.
34 ff., ii. 224.
XI. 52, ii. 218.
XII. 20, ii. 219.
32 ff., ii. 152, 220.
37-50, ii. 215.
XIII. 8 ff., ii. 222.
19, ii. 221.
23 ff., ii. 207.
XIV. 5, ii. 221.
8, ii. 221.
13 f., ii. 214.
16 f., ii. 213.
18 f., ii. 282.
22, ii. 221.
23, ii. 282.
26, ii. 213.
XV. 4, ii. 213.
6, ii. 213.
15, ii. 214.
26, ii. 213.
27, ii. 213.
XVI 7, ii. 213.
8-11, ii. 214.
8, ii. 217.
13, ii. 213.
25 f., ii. 213, 214.
30, ii. 224.
XVII. 18, ii. 213.
20, ii. 213.
XVIII. 16, ii. 207.
XIX. 26, ii. 207.

JOHN.

XIX. 35, ii. 209, 210, 225.
XX. 2-8, ii. 207.
17, i. 11.
23, ii. 214.
25, i. 11.
30 f., ii. 210.
XXI. i. 2, 4, 11.
7, ii. 207.
11, ii. 150.
13 f., i. 53.
15, i. 2.
15-19, ii. 208.
15-17. ii. 218.
17, ii. 150.
18 f., ii. 152, 270.
20, ii. 207.
20-23, ii. 208, 209.
24, ii. 210, 225.
25, ii. 210.

ACTS.

I.f. i. 20, 21.
I. 3, i. 25.
5, ii. 252.
8, i. 236.
11, i. 20, 47.
13, i. 48.
14, i. 24, ii. 340.
15, i. 25.
17, ii. 323.
20, i. 41, ii. 325.
21, ii. 295.
23, ii. 309.
25, ii. 323.
II.-V. i. 22, 25.
II. i. 2.
1, i. 48.
4, ii. 272.
7, i. 20, 47.
14 ff., i. 39, 50.
17, i. 41.
27, i. 41.
29, i. 40.
38, ii. 254.
40, ii. 340.
41, i. 25, ii. 254.
42, i. 44, 45, 52,

ACTS.

II. 42, ii. 247, 254.
42-47, i. 24.
44 f., i. 55.
46, i. 48, 49, 52, ii, 340.
III. i. 275.
1, ii. 340.
2, i. 24.
11, i. 24, 48.
12 ff., i. 39.
21, ii. 25.
IV. 4, i. 25.
6, i. 62.
8 ff., i. 39.
11, i. 41.
21, i. 46, 61,
23, ii. 316.
31, i. 49.
32-35, i. 24.
32, i. 55.
34 f., i. 55.
36 f., i. 55.
V. 1-11, i. 55.
12-16, i. 24.
12, i. 48.
17, i. 61.
34, i. 81.
40, i. 46, 61.
42, i. 24, 52.
VI. 1-6, i. 56, 62.
1 ff., ii. 323.
2-4, ii. 254.
2, ii. 350.
4, ii. 247.
5, ii. 309.
9, i. 47.
VII. 38, i. 70.
42 ff., i. 69.
51, i. 70.
58-60, i. 102,
VIII. 1, i. 21.
2, ii. 340.
3, i. 102,
9-24, ii. 149.
12 f., ii. 254
16, ii. 254.
17 ff., ii. 254.
17, ii. 299.
38, ii. 254.

Acts.

IX. 1 ff., i. 102.
3 ff., i. 7.
3, i. 91.
4, i. 80.
6, i. 91.
11, i. 81, 99.
17, i. 80.
18, ii. 254.
19 ff., i. 102.
26-30, i. 103.
30, i. 81.
32, i. 30, 44.
36, i. 30.
41, i. 44.
X.f., i, 208,
X. 14, ii. 340.
23, i. 30.
24, i. 212.
34 ff., i. 40.
38, ii. 37.
41, i. 10, ii. 284.
46, i. 51, ii. 271.
47, ii. 254.
48, i. 212, ii. 254.
XI. 1-4, ii. 309.
1, ii. 293.
3, i. 212.
15, i. 51.
16, ii. 252.
18, i. 104.
19-30, i. 104.
19 ff., i. 105.
19, i. 106, 274.
20, i. 106.
22, ii. 309.
25, i. 81, 105.
26, i. 47, 108.
27, i. 49, ii. 301.
28, i. 105, ii. 270, 300.
29, ii. 323.
30, i. 105, ii. 314.
XII. 1-23, i. 104.
1 ff., i. 76.
12, i. 81.
17 ii. 317.
24 f., i. 104.
25, i. 81, 105, 107, ii. 323.

Acts.

XIII.f., i. 109, 247, 274.
XIII. 1, i. 50, ii. 300, 302.
1 ff., ii. 270.
7, i. 111.
9, i. 80.
12, i. 111.
14, i. 110.
16-41, i. 246.
16 ff., i. 40.
36, i. 40.
43, i. 110.
44, i. 111.
46 ff., i. 110.
XIV. 1 ff., i. 110.
3, i. 248.
6 f., i. 275.
8-18, i. 246.
11 ff., ii. 128.
15 ff., i. 117,
19, i. 238,
23, ii. 318, 330.
28, i. 248.
XV. i. 176, 199, 247, ii. 340.
4, ii. 315.
6, ii. 315.
9, i. 203.
12, ii. 309, 315.
13, ii. 317.
20 f., i. 205.
22, i. 50, 293, ii. 309, 315.
23, i. 109, ii. 309.
29, i. 205.
32, i. 50, 202, ii. 270, 300, 301.
33, i. 207.
35, i. 202.
37-39, i. 202.
40, i. 249, 293.
41, i. 109.
XVI-XVIII. i. 247.
XVI. 1-3, i. 212, 244.
1 f., i. 272.
4, i. 200, 273.
5-8, i. 247.
6-10, i. 273.
6-8, i. 376.
6, i. 273, ii. 270.

Acts.

XVI. 7, ii. 270.
9-12, i. 279.
10-24, i, 246.
10, i. 242, 243, 244.
12, i. 248.
15, ii. 254.
14-18, i. 283.
17, i. 242.
18, i. 242, 248.
19, i. 242.
23, i. 239.
25-34, i. 246.
33, ii. 254.
35-39, i. 246.
XVII. 1-4, i. 289.
2 ff., i. 110.
5-9, i. 246, 290.
10 ff., i. 292.
10, i. 292.
12, i. 110.
14, i. 292.
16-34, i. 303.
17, i. 110, 248.
22-31, i. 246.
24 ff., i. 117.
34, i. 303.
XVIII. 1-18, i. 307, 308.
1-4, i. 310.
1 ff., i. 111.
2, ii. 79.
3, i. 301.
4, i. 110.
7-17, i. 246.
7, i. 110, 113.
8, i. 113, ii. 254.
11, i. 248.
13 ff., i. 239.
17, i. 113.
18-23, i. 247, 248.
18, i. 248.
22, ii. 1, 11.
23, i, 248, 273, 376.
24-28, i, 404.
24, i. 320.
XIX. i. 247.
1-7, i. 404.
2-6, ii. 254.
5, ii. 254.
6, i. 51, ii. 271.

Acts.

XIX. 8 ff., i. 110.
8, i. 248, 383, 392.
9, i. 111, 392.
10, i. 248, 376, 383.
11 f., i. 403.
13-19, i. 246, 404.
21, i. 298, 383, ii. 1. 72.
22, i. 248, 298, 376, 383.
23-41, i. 246, 389.
25, i. 389.
26, i. 376.
27, i. 376, 389.
29, i. 300, 389.
30, i. 390.
31, i. 390.
33, i, 389, ii. 164.
34, i. 389.
35-41, i. 390.
XX. 1, i. 298.
3, i. 248, 298, 368.
4 f., i. 244, 271, 279, 290, 368, 376, 402, ii. 163.
5, i. 242, 243, 368.
7, i. 52, ii. 283.
8, ii. 143.
16-38, i. 242.
16, i. 376, 379, ii. 1.
18-35, i. 246.
18 ff., i. 403.
18, i. 376, 379.
19, i. 388, 403.
22, ii. 1.
23, ii. 13.
24, ii. 323.
28, ii. 324, 330.
29 f., i. 403.
30, i. 379.
38, i. 243.
XXI. 1, i. 243.
4, i. 43, ii. 13, 116.
10 ff., ii. 13, 270.
10, i. 50, ii. 300.
11 f., ii. 116.
15 ff., ii. 1.

Acts.

XXI. 16, i. 43, 274.
17 ff., ii. 14.
XXI. 18-XXVI. 32, i. 246.
XXI. 18, ii. 315, 317.
19, ii. 323.
21, i. 237, ii. 14.
22, ii. 309.
23 ff., ii. 340.
25, i. 200.
27, i. 376, 388, ii. 13, 163.
29, i. 376, 377.
31, ii. 118.
37 f., ii. 116.
39, i. 99.
XXII. 1-21, i. 246, ii. 116.
3, i. 81.
6 ff., i. 7.
6, i. 91.
7, i. 80.
10, i. 91.
13, i. 80.
16, ii. 254.
XXII. 30-XXIII., 10, ii. 116.
XXIII. 6-9, ii. 117.
9, ii. 120.
11, ii. 72.
12 ff., ii. 118.
14, ii. 316.
23 f., ii. 116.
26-30, ii. 116.
28 f., ii. 117, 118, 120.
XXIV. 1 ff., ii. 117, 118.
3-8, ii. 116.
5, i. 45, 47, ii. 120.
14, i. 45, ii. 303.
17, ii. 14.
18, ii. 163.
22, ii. 119, 120.
24, ii. 118, 120.
26 f., ii. 118, 119, 28, i. 376.
XXV. 1-12, ii. 121.
2 f., ii. 118.
12, ii. 119.

Acts.

XXV. 13-27, ii. 116.
15, ii. 117, 118, 316.
16, ii. 121.
18, ii. 119.
18 f., ii. 121.
25, ii. 119, 121.
26, ii. 121.
XXVI. 1-23, i. 246, ii. 116.
13 ff., i. 7.
13, i. 91.
14, i. 80.
16 f., i. 91.
24-32, ii. 116.
28, ii. 120.
30, ii. 121.
31, ii. 119, 121.
32, ii. 120.
XXVII. 1, i. 243, ii. 116, 125.
2, i. 244, 376, ii. 125.
35, i. 52, ii. 283.
XXVIII. 6, ii. 128.
14, i. 43.
16, i. 243.
17-28, ii. 129.
17 ff., ii. 96,
30 f., ii. 129.

James (cf., ii. 421).

I. 2-18, ii. 28, 29.
6, ii. 30.
9-11, ii. 30.
10, ii. 28, 30.
13, ii. 31.
18, ii. 31.
I. 19-II. 26, ii. 28.
I. 21, ii. 31.
22, ii. 29.
23, ii. 29.
25, ii. 28, 31.
II. 1, ii. 28.
2-7, ii. 30.
2-4, ii. 28.
2, ii. 27.
4, ii. 28.

JAMES.

II. 8, ii. 28, 31.
12, ii. 28, 31.
14-26, ii. 30.
14-16, ii. 30.
19, ii. 30.
III. 1 ff., ii. 28.
1, ii. 31.
6, ii. 28.
12, ii. 29.
13, ii. 31.
18, ii. 29.
IV. 3, ii. 29.
4, ii. 29.
8, ii. 29.
9, ii. 28, 30.
11, ii. 28, 29, 30, 31.
12, ii. 31.
IV. 13-V. 6, ii. 30.
IV. 13, ii. 28.
V. 1, ii. 28, 30.
2 f., ii. 29.
7, ii. 30.
9, ii. 30.
12-20, ii. 27.
12, ii. 29.
14, ii. 330.
16, ii. 30.
19, ii. 30.

1 PETER.

I. 1, ii. 149.
3, ii. 287.
II. 13-III. 12, ii. 392.
II. 25, ii. 325, 331.
IV. 1, ii. 393.
8, ii. 393.
11, ii. 287.
V. 1 ff., ii. 393.
1-5, ii. 330.
5 ff., ii. 393.
11, ii. 287.
13, ii. 153.

2 PETER.

III. 18, ii. 287.

JOHN'S EPISTLES.

1 John (cf. ii. 396).
II. 18, ii. 187.
2 ,, I. ii. 330.
3 ,, I. ii. 330.

JUDE.

25, ii. 287.

ROMANS.

I. i. 137,
2, i. 42, 132, ii. 275, 277.
3, i. 87, 143, ii. 289.
4, i. 8, 88, 142.
5, i. 228, ii. 80, 81.
6, ii. 80, 81, 83.
7, i. 221.
8-17, i. 222, ii. 108.
8, ii. 77.
9-15, i. 230.
9-12, ii. 83.
10-15, ii. 72.
10, ii. 76.
11 ff., ii. 298.
11 f., ii. 76, 84.
12, ii. 77.
13 ff., i. 229.
13, ii. 73, 76, 81.
13-15, ii. 80, 83.
14, i. 228, ii. 76, 83.
15, ii. 76, 83, 112.
16, ii. 81, 86, 108.
I. 17-VIII. 39, ii. 106.
I. 17-V. 11 (21), ii. 107, 110.
I. 17-IV. 25, i. 134.
I. 17, i. 132, 166, ii. 108.
I. 18-XI. 36, i. 222.
I. 18-III. 20, ii. 106.
I. 18-32, ii. 109.
18 ff., ii. 266.
18, ii. 108.
19 f., i. 116, ii. 109.
21 ff, i. 115.
23 ff., i. 115.
24-28, ii. 352.
25, ii. 287.

ROMANS.

I. 29-32, ii. 353.
32, i. 117, 137, ii. 95, 109.
II. 1-III. 31, ii. 109.
II. 1 ff., ii. 105.
1, ii. 95, 109.
4, ii. 109.
5-10, ii. 355.
7 f., i. 119.
8, ii. 109, 134.
9 f., ii. 86.
11 ff., ii. 109.
14 ff., i. 118.
14, ii. 81, 87, 354.
15, ii. 87, 112, 354.
17, ii. 5, 87, 109.
21-24, ii. 109, 353.
21, ii. 303.
III. ii. 108.
1 ff., i. 171.
1, ii. 109.
5, ii. 355.
6, i. 139.
8, i. 139, ii. 103, 109, 110, 111.
9 f., i. 148, ii. 86.
10-18, i. 132, ii. 353.
10 ff., 2, 132.
11-20, ii. 110.
19, i. 149.
20, i. 157.
III. 21-V. 21, ii. 106.
III. 21-31, ii. 106.
21 ff., i. 166.
21 f., i. 168.
24, i. 161.
25 ff., i. 161.
25, i. 159, 160, 167, 172.
26, i. 167.
27, ii. 109.
27-30, ii. 109.
29, ii. 81, 87.
31, ii. 104, 110.
IV. i. 134, 157, ii. 5, 31.
1-25, ii. 106, 110.
1, ii. 88, 104.
3, i. 132, ii. 275.
7 ff., i. 132.

ROMANS.

IV. 17, i. 132.
18, i. 132, 134.
25, i. 132, 163.
V. i. 134, 171.
1-11, ii. 106, 110, ii. 358.
1 ff., i. 168, ii. 105.
6 f., i. 161.
8, i. 159, 161.
9, ii. 355.
12-21, i. 138, 149, ii. 106, 107, 110, 114.
12 ff., ii. 105.
12, i. 148.
17-21, ii. 355.
17, i. 169.
18 f., i. 160.
18, i. 149, 162.
19, i. 149, 163.
20, i. 138, 155, ii. 111.
21, i. 138, 148, 169.
VII.-VIII. 39, ii. 107, 110.
VI. 1-VII. 25, ii. 107.
VI. 1-14, ii. 111.
1, ii. 104, 105, 111.
3 ff, i. 169, ii. 77, 253, 357.
4 ff., i. 163.
6, i. 148, 170.
10, i. 162, 169.
11, i. 170.
12, i. 148.
13 f., i. 170.
14, ii. 111.
VI. 15-VII. 6, ii. 111.
VI. 15, ii. 104, 111.
17, i. 149, ii. 77, 303, 307.
18, ii. 358.
22, ii. 355, 358.
VII. i. 140, 149, 151.
1-6, ii. 87, 88, 111.
1 ff, i. 162.
1, ii. 88, 277, 305.
2 f., ii. 88.
4, ii. 87, 88.
5 f., ii. 88.
7-25, ii. 107.
7 ff., i. 88.

ROMANS.

VII. 7, ii. 104, 112.
8 ff., i. 152.
9-25, ii. 112.
9, i. 148.
11, i. 148, 150.
12 ff., i. 154.
12, ii. 352.
14, i. 150, 152, ii. 352.
17, i. 148.
22, i. 152.
23, i. 149.
25, i. 170, ii. 358.
VIII. i. 168, ii. 108.
1-39, ii. 107.
1 ff, ii. 112.
1, i. 143, 162.
2, i. 143, 161, ii. 357.
3, i. 143, 152, 160, 162, ii. 357.
3 f., i. 160, 163.
5 ff., ii. 357.
7, i. 152.
9 f., i. 164.
10, i. 151, 170.
11, i. 164, 171.
14, i. 147, ii. 112.
15, ii. 258, 286.
17, ii. 358.
18 ff., i. 138.
26, i. 136.
30, i. 168.
32, i. 161.
35 ff., i. 138.
35, i. 161.
38, ii. 355.
39, i. 161.
IX.-XI. i. 133, ii. 84, 96, 107, 112, 266.
IX.f. i. 134.
IX. 1-5, ii. 113.
1 ff., ii. 6.
1, i. 359, ii. 105, 107.
3 f., ii. 86, 379.
4, i. 171.
5, i. 87, ii. 287.
6-33, ii. 113.
IX. 7-XI. 10, i. 133.

ROMANS.

IX. 17, i. 132, ii. 275.
22, i. 172.
23, i. 168.
24, ii. 81.
30, i. 166, 168, ii. 81.
31, i. 89.
X. 1-21, ii. 113.
3, i. 166.
5-6, i. 89.
6-7, i. 89.
11, i. 132, ii. 275.
12, ii. 86.
XI. ii. 108.
1-12, ii. 113.
1, ii. 86.
2, i. 132.
6, i. 166.
11-25, ii. 81.
11 ff., i. 134.
13 ff., ii. 90, 113.
13 f., ii. 82, 85, 86, 323.
26 ff., i. 133.
32, i. 138, 149.
33-36, i. 137, ii. 113.
33, ii. 263.
36, i. 140, ii. 287.
XII. 1-XV. 13, i. 222.
XII. 1-XIII. 14, ii. 114.
XII. ii. 89, 361.
1-8, ii. 362.
1, ii. 93, 248, 285, 356.
2, ii. 93, 354, 356.
3-8, ii. 322, 384.
3, ii. 89, 370.
4 ff., ii. 370.
4, ii. 89.
5, ii. 89, 307.
6, ii. 257, 262, 271, 301.
7, ii. 262, 302, 314, 323.
8, ii. 314, 322, 382.
9-21, ii. 362.
10, ii. 89.
12, ii. 257.
16, ii. 89, 370.
17 f., ii. 95.

ROMANS.

XII. 21, ii. 95.
XIII.f., ii. 361.
XIII. 1-7, ii. 95.
3-5, ii. 95.
4, ii. 323.
8, ii. 306, 363.
9, i. 155, ii. 352, 363.
12, ii. 356.
13, ii. 356, 368.
14, ii. 368.
XIV. 1-XV. 7, ii. 90, 114.
XIV. ii. 285, 370, 371.
1, ii. 91.
2, ii. 92.
4, ii. 31.
13, ii. 91.
14, ii. 91, 92, 93.
20, ii. 93.
XV. 1, ii. 91.
4, ii. 305.
7-9, ii. 89.
8-13, ii. 114.
8, ii. 323.
14-33, i. 222, ii. 114.
15 ff., ii. 83.
15-29, ii. 72.
15, ii. 75, 84, 298.
16, ii. 83.
19, i. 229, 234, 238, ii. 75.
20, i. 230, ii. 4, 75.
22, ii. 75.
23, i. 229, ii. 72.
24, i. 229, 231, ii. 76, 77.
25-29, ii. 72.
25, i. 382, ii. 323.
26, i. 55, 232, ii. 314.
27, ii. 12.
28, ii. 76.
29, ii. 77, 84.
30, ii. 115, 257.
31, ii. 11, 115, 323.
32, ii. 84.
33, i. 380.
XVI. 1 ff., i. 220.
1, i. 305, 380, ii. 321, 323.
2, ii. 321.

ROMANS.

XVI. 3-15, i. 392-401, ii. 321.
3 ff., i. 380.
3, i. 309.
4, i. 388, ii. 125, 307.
5, i. 231, 232, 376, 377, 380, ii. 321.
6, i. 291, ii. 320.
7, ii. 98, 125, 294.
10, ii. 322.
11, i. 381, ii. 322.
12, i. 291, ii. 320.
14 f., ii. 321.
16, ii. 288.
17-20, i. 381, 403.
17, ii. 303.
20, i. 221, 403.
21-23, i. 381.
21, i. 113, 290.
22, i. 224.
23, i. 113.
25-27, i. 224, 382.
27, ii. 287.

1 CORINTHIANS.

I. 1, i. 220, 306.
2, i. 219, ii. 298.
3, i. 221.
4 ff., i. 317.
I. 10-IV. 21, i. 326.
I. 11, i. 305, 318, 325.
12, i. 321, 327, ii. 10, 102.
13-17, i. 332, ii. 253.
13, i. 328.
14-16, ii. 320.
14-17, ii. 254.
14, i. 113, 305, 309.
16, i. 305.
17, i. 225.
18, i. 159.
19, ii. 263.
20, i. 306, ii. 263.
21, i. 116, 306, 315, ii. 263.
23, i. 142, 159, 312, 314.
24, i. 312.
25-29, i. 306.

1 CORINTHIANS.

I. 27 f., i. 311.
30, i. 161, 316.
II. 1 ff., i. 113.
3, i. 311, 344.
4, ii. 263.
6, i. 321, ii. 263.
7, ii. 263, 264.
9-16, i. 136, ii. 264.
13, ii. 263.
16, i. 145.
III. 1 f., i. 306, 321.
4 ff., i. 328.
5, ii. 323.
6, i. 304, 318.
9, i. 320.
10, i. 304, 320.
12, ii. 270.
16, i. 316.
18-20, ii. 263.
19, ii. 263.
21-23, i. 328.
22, i. 144, ii. 10.
23, i. 144.
IV. 1-13, i. 335.
1, i. 328.
3, i. 332, 353, ii. 7, 312.
6, i. 321, 328, ii. 5, 10, 293, 306.
8, ii. 370.
9-13, i. 370.
9, i. 321, ii. 293.
14 ff., ii. 297.
14, i. 326, 394.
15, i. 305.
17, i. 272, 319, 326, 335, ii. 164, 249, 262, 298, 303, 306.
18-21, i. 326, 335, ii. 298.
18, i. 335, 342.
19-21, i. 341.
19, i. 335.
21, i. 336, 342, 348.
V.f., i. 336.
V. i. 352.
1 ff., i. 351, ii. 298, 368, 379.
1, i. 325, ii. 305.

1 Corinthians.

V. 3, ii. 312, 379.
4, ii. 379.
5, i. 352, ii. 285, 379.
7, i. 160, ii. 279, 282.
9-13, ii. 377.
9 ff., ii. 368.
9, i. 318, 322, ii. 278.
10, i. 317, 353.
11, ii. 368.
VI. 1 ff., ii. 312, 369, 380.
1, i. 325.
5, ii. 264.
9, ii. 355, 368.
10, ii. 363.
11, ii. 353.
13 ff., ii. 368.
15, i. 316, ii. 358.
16, ii. 277.
19, i. 316.
20, i. 336, ii. 358.
VII.-XIV., i. 337.
VII. i. 171, 318, 336, ii. 348, 372.
1-9, ii. 387.
1 ff., i. 323.
1, i. 318.
2, ii. 389.
3, ii. 371.
4 f., ii. 384.
6, ii. 299, 389.
7, ii. 389.
10-38, ii. 387 f.
10, i. 314, ii. 39, 278, 299, 305.
11, ii. 278.
12, ii. 305, 371, 376, 384.
13, ii. 367, 376, 384, 390.
14, ii. 253, 306, 367, 376, 390.
15, ii. 369, 377.
16, ii. 369.
17 ff., ii. 366.
17, ii. 298, 303, 387.
18, i. 331.
21, ii. 382.
25, i. 326, 337, ii. 299, 305, 371.

1 Corinthians.

VII. 26, ii. 389.
28, ii. 389.
29-31, ii. 389.
31, ii. 389.
32 ff., ii. 389.
36 ff., ii. 371, 389.
40, i. 136, 326, 337, ii. 297.
VIII. i. 208.
1-8, ii. 374.
1 ff., i. 323, ii. 374.
1, i. 337, ii. 102, 265.
2, ii. 265.
4, i. 115, ii. 375.
5, i. 115, ii. 375.
6, i. 116, 140, 144, 145, 315, ii. 375.
9 f., ii. 374.
10 ff., ii. 374 f.
IX. 1 ff., i. 323, 326, 332, 337.
1, i. 7, 304, 333, 335, 337, ii. 295.
2, i. 305, 333, 337, ii. 297.
5, i. 124, 328, 330, ii. 8, 10, 293, 294, 305.
6-27, i. 312.
6, i. 236, 327, 330, ii. 10, 97, 305.
7-14, i. 333.
7 ff., i. 135.
8, ii. 277, 352.
8-10, i. 133.
9, ii. 264, 305, 306.
13, ii. 277, 305, 313.
14, i. 314, ii. 39, 43, 278, 305.
15-27, i. 333.
20 f., i. 373.
20, i. 113, 331, ii. 82.
24 ff., ii. 358.
24, i. 121.
X. i. 208.
1-4, ii. 253.
1 ff., ii. 310, 370.
1, ii. 88.
2, ii. 253.

1 Corinthians.

X. 4, i. 145.
6, i. 133.
11, i. 133, ii. 264, 305.
12, ii. 358.
13, ii. 31.
14-22, ii. 279, 286.
14 ff., ii. 375.
16 ff., ii. 251.
16, i. 52, ii. 280, 307.
17, ii. 281.
18, ii. 277.
19, ii. 376.
20, i. 115, ii. 375.
22, ii. 376.
25, i. 323, ii. 375.
26-30, ii. 375.
28, ii. 374.
32, i. 331, ii. 248, 309, 374.
XI. 1-XIV. 40, ii. 249.
XI. ii. 250.
1 ff., i. 135.
1, i. 326.
2, i. 323, 263.
3 ff., ii. 367.
3, i. 144, 324, 325, ii. 385.
4, ii. 257, 258.
5, ii. 256, 386.
7, ii. 385.
8, i. 134, ii. 277, 385.
9, ii. 305, 385.
10, ii. 385.
11, ii. 390.
14, ii. 385.
16, i. 339, ii. 256 306, 385.
17, i. 324.
18-21, i. 331.
18, i. 325, ii. 249, 284.
20, ii. 249, 284.
20 f., ii. 251.
21 f., ii. 249.
22, ii. 249.
23 ff., i. 42, ii. 39.
23, i. 314, ii. 278, 279.

1 Corinthians.

XI. 24, i. 52, ii. 280.
25, ii. 280.
26, ii. 280, 282.
27, ii. 281, 282.
29, ii. 285.
30, ii. 285, 379.
33, ii. 250, 251, 284.
34, i. 341, 342.
XII. 1, i. 324, 337, ii. 268.
2, i. 115, 306, 315, 324.
3, i. 164, 324, ii. 257, 270, 288, 379.
4-11, ii. 257.
4 ff., i. 164, ii. 371.
6, 323.
7-10, ii. 318.
8, ii. 262, 264.
9, ii. 128.
10, ii. 268, 270, 271, 273.
11 ff., ii. 257.
12 ff., ii. 310.
13, i. 331, ii. 253.
15-24, ii. 383.
16, ii. 370.
27-30, ii. 257.
27, i. 316, ii. 282, 307, 358.
28, i. 285, ii. 13, 128, 249, 262, 267, 296, 299, 300, 302, 314, 318, 331, 382.
29, ii. 302.
30, ii. 130, 271.
XIII. i. 171, 337, ii, 363.
1, ii. 272.
XIV. ii. 250, 370.
1, ii. 267, 274.
2, ii. 272, 273.
3, 249, 268, 269.
4, ii. 249, 272.
5, ii. 249, 267, 272, 273, 274, 275.
6, ii. 262, 267, 268, 272, 273, 302.
7 ff., ii. 273.
10 f., ii. 273.
12, ii. 249, 268.

1 Corinthians.

XIV. 13, ii. 272, 273.
14-16, ii. 273.
14, ii. 259, 272, 273.
15, ii. 257, 259.
16-19, ii. 250.
16, ii. 274, 289.
17 ff., ii. 274.
18, i. 371.
19, i. 371, ii. 249, 272, 275, 302.
21, ii. 273, 277.
22, ii. 273, 274.
23, i. 324, ii. 249, 251, 271, 274.
24, ii. 251, 268, 269.
26-36, ii. 255.
26 ff., ii. 249, 270, 274, 371.
26, i. 324, ii. 249, 250, 257, 258, 259, 262, 267, 302.
27, ii. 272, 275.
28, ii. 249, 275.
29, ii. 266, 267, 270.
30, ii. 267, 270.
31, ii. 270.
32, ii. 266, 268, 269.
33-36, ii. 306.
33, i. 339, ii. 256, 300.
34 ff., ii. 367.
34, i. 324, ii. 277, 305, 352, 386.
36, ii. 256, 298, 300.
37, i. 326, ii. 299, 300, 387.
38, ii. 298, 300.
39, ii. 267.
XV. i. 142, 171.
1-11, i. 338.
1-4, ii. 276.
1 ff., i. 314, ii. 13.
3-11, i. 337.
3, i. 42, 114, 130, 148, 159, ii. 278.
3 f., i. 131.
4 ff., i. 3, 4, 7.
5, i. 328, 330, ii. 207.
7, i. 330, ii. 294.

1 Corinthians.

XV. 8 ff., i. 85, 338.
8, i. 7, ii. 296.
9, i. 60, 90, ii. 10, 307.
10, i. 291, ii. 10, 320.
12-34, i. 338.
12 ff., i. 163.
12, i. 325.
20, i. 8.
23-28, ii. 269.
24-28, ii. 193.
28, i. 140, 144, 172.
29-34, i. 385.
29, ii. 253.
30 f., i. 385.
32-34, i. 223.
32, i. 232, 238, 377, 385, ii. 370.
33, ii. 370.
33-35, i. 325.
34, ii. 370.
35 ff., i. 140, 338.
42-44, i. 8.
44-49, i. 151.
45-49, i. 144.
45 ff., i. 138, 151, 152.
45, i. 143, ii. 276.
46, i. 143.
47 f., i. 162.
49, i. 8.
50, i. 150, 152, 223, 338.
53 ff., i. 138.
54, ii. 275.
57 f., i. 223.
XVI. 1-8, i. 318.
1, i. 55, 232, 233, 234, 364, ii. 12, 308, 314.
2, ii. 251.
3-9, i. 341.
3, i. 55, 218, ii. 278.
4, i. 342, 364.
5-9, i. 277.
5 f., i. 342, 348, 384.
8, i. 232, 234, 342, 377, 384.
9, i. 342, 377, 384, 401.

1 Corinthians.

XVI. 10, i. 319, 335, 342, ii. 164.
11, i. 342.
12, i. 318, 384, 391.
15, i. 231, 303, 305, 335, ii. 320, 323.
16, i. 305, ii. 311, 320, 324.
17, i. 113, 305, 318, 319.
18, i. 318.
19, i. 220, 232, 306, 309, 376, 377, 384, 391, ii. 308, 321.
20, i. 220, 224, 377, ii. 288.
21, i. 224.
22, ii. 286, 379.
23, i. 221.
24, i. 221.

2 Corinthians.

I. 1, i. 219, 220, 303, ii. 164, 308.
2, i. 221.
3-14, i. 361.
3, i. 223.
4, i. 361.
5-7, i. 140, 361.
6 f., i. 223.
8-14, i. 361.
8, i. 232, 238, 376, 377, 387, 388.
9, i. 238, 388.
10, i. 388.
11, i. 387, ii. 257.
12, ii. 263.
13, i. 361, ii. 278.
I. 15-II. 17, i. 361.
I. 15 ff., i. 277.
15 f., i. 347.
16, i. 368.
19, i. 287, 304, 315.
23, i. 346.
II.-VII. i. 360.
II. 1, i. 344, 345, 346.
2, i. 345.
3 f., i. 345, 346.

2 Corinthians.

II. 5-11, i. 349.
5 ff., ii. 379.
5, i. 351, ii. 164.
6-8, i. 360.
6, i. 352, ii. 311, 312.
7, i. 351, ii. 312.
9, ii. 312.
10, i. 352.
11, ii. 380.
12, i. 278, 377.
13, i. 231, 278, 377.
14 ff., i. 353.
14, ii. 265.
17, i. 353, ii. 7.
III. 1-IV. 6, i. 361.
III. i. 374, ii. 102.
1 ff., i. 353.
1, i. 218, 357, 361, ii. 278, 295, 311.
2, i. 305, 317, 357.
3, i. 305, ii. 323.
3-18, i. 373.
6-9, ii. 323.
6, i. 356, ii. 88, 305.
7, i. 133, 155, 363, ii. 5.
13, i. 133, 155.
17, i. 145.
IV. i. 374.
1 ff., i. 316, 362.
1, ii. 108, 323.
2, i. 356, 357, ii. 7.
4 ff., i. 144.
6, i. 135, ii. 265.
IV. 7-V. 10, i. 361, 362.
IV. 7, i. 362.
16 ff., i. 138.
V. i. 374.
9, i. 362.
10, ii. 7.
V. 11-VI. 10, i. 361, 362.
V. 11, i. 362.
12, i. 362, ii. 7, 102.
13, i. 362.
15 ff., i. 373.
15, i. 159, 161, 162, 316.
16, i. 8, 142, 164, 356, 363, ii. 6, 295, 305.

2 Corinthians.

V. 17, i. 162, 316, ii. 357.
18, ii. 323.
19, i. 161.
20, i. 362.
21, i. 143, 160, 162.
VI. 3, ii. 323.
4-10, i. 370.
4, ii. 323.
8, ii. 103.
9 ff., i. 362.
11, i. 363.
VI. 14-VII. 1, i. 363, ii. 353.
VI. 14 ff., i. 368.
14, ii. 356.
16-18, ii. 277.
VII. 1, i. 363, ii. 368.
3 ff., i. 360.
5 ff., i. 354.
5, i. 231, 278, 281, 299.
6, i. 363.
7-15, i. 349, 350.
7, i. 352.
8 ff., i. 345, 346.
8, i. 345, ii. 278.
11 ff., ii. 379.
11, i. 353.
12, i. 351, 352, 353, ii. 164, 312.
VIII.f., i. 363.
VIII. i. 374.
1 ff., i. 299, 364.
1, i. 232, 278, ii. 12.
2, i. 278.
4, ii. 323.
6, i. 363, 364.
8-15, i. 364.
9, i. 145, 161, 163, ii. 356.
10, i. 364, ii. 12.
14 f., i. 140.
15, ii. 277.
VIII. 16-IX. 5, i. 364.
VIII. 16 ff., i. 364.
18 ff., i. 299.
18, ii. 308, 311.
19, ii. 278, 308, 311.

2 Corinthians.

VIII. 20, i. 365.
22, i. 290.
23, i. 300, 364, ii. 278, 293, 308.
IX. 1, i. 55, 364, ii. 323.
2, i. 232, 364.
3, i. 365.
6-15, i. 365.
9, ii. 277.
10, ii. 284.
12-14, ii. 257.
12, i. 365, ii. 12, 248, 323.
13, i. 186, 365, ii. 12, 323.
14, i. 365, ii. 12.
X.-XII. i. 360.
X. 1 ff., i. 365, ii. 295.
1, i. 312, 353, 357, ii. 102.
2, i. 357.
4, i. 365.
5, i. 315, ii. 265.
6, i. 366.
7, i. 354, 367, ii. 6.
9-11, i. 357, ii. 278.
10, i. 225, 312, 353, ii. 102.
11, i. 225, 366.
12-18, i. 358.
12, i. 357.
13, i. 229, ii. 75.
14-16, ii. 74.
15 ff., ii. 7.
15, ii. 4.
16, i. 230.
18, i. 357.
XI. i. 405.
1, i. 357, 367, ii. 103.
3, i. 150, 358, ii. 323.
4, i. 129, 355, 372, ii. 6, 7.
5, i. 354, ii. 296.
6, i. 225, 312, 357, ii. 265, 295.
7-9, i. 312.
7, i. 357.
8, i. 280, ii. 313.
9, i. 232, 280, ii. 313.

2 Corinthians.

XI. 10, i. 232.
12-15, ii. 295.
12, i. 313.
13-15, i. 184, 355, ii. 7.
13, i. 354.
14, i. 403.
15, ii. 323.
16-21, i. 357.
16, i. 357, 367, ii. 103.
18, ii. 7.
19, 1, 358.
20, i. 358, ii. 7.
22, i. 356, 373, ii. 295.
23-33, i. 370.
23 ff., i. 385, ii. 295.
23, i. 356, ii. 295, 323.
24, i. 60, 373.
25, i. 238.
26, i. 60, 373, 385.
31, ii. 287.
32 f., i. 98.
XII. 1-7, i. 371.
1 ff., i. 8, ii. 300.
1, i. 371, ii. 268, 295.
2 ff., ii. 268, 269.
3, i. 371.
4, ii. 272.
5, i. 372.
6, i. 357, 372, ii. 103.
7, i. 311, 372.
9, i. 372.
11-13, i. 343.
11, i. 354, 357, 367, ii. 296.
12, i. 356, 371, ii. 295, 297.
13, i. 357.
14, i. 343.
16-18, i. 357.
16, ii. 102.
19, i. 368.
20, i. 366, 368, ii. 371.
21, i. 368, ii. 368.
XIII. 1, i. 343.

2 Corinthians.

XIII. 2, i. 343, 366, 368, ii. 298.
3, i. 312, ii. 298.
5-9, i. 368.
10, i. 357, 366, 368.
11, i. 224.
12, ii. 288.
13, i. 221, ii. 254.

Galatians.

I. 1, i. 81, 220, 261, ii. 295.
2, i. 219, 220, 233, 270.
3, i. 221.
4, i. 83, 148, 161, 254.
5, ii. 287.
6-9, i. 176, 355.
6 ff., i. 258, ii. 297.
6, i. 129, 257, 263, ii. 6.
7, i. 258, ii. 6.
8, ii. 379.
9, i. 256, 257, ii. 379.
10, i. 262, ii. 103.
12, i. 82.
13-16, i. 177.
13, i. 252, ii. 307.
14, i. 60, 252.
15, i. 90.
16-24, i. 177.
16, i. 7, 83, 90.
17, i. 82, 92, 182.
18, i. 20, 82, 226.
19, i. 182, ii. 292, 317.
20, i. 95, 207.
21, i. 99, 109.
22, i. 43, 48, ii. 307.
23 f., i. 210.
II. 1, i. 99, 226.
1-10, i. 177, 200.
1 ff., ii. 309.
2, i. 182.
4, i. 178, 179, 181, 182.
5, i. 109, 182.

GALATIANS.

II. 6, i. 181, 182, 185, 258.
7 ff., i. 186.
9, i. 45, 182, 364, ii. 73, 307, 317.
10, i. 53, 208, 249, 355.
11 ff., i. 176, 177, 189, ii, 340.
12, ii. 317.
13, i. 100, ii. 248.
14 ff., i. 191 f.
14, i. 179, 252.
15, i. 74, ii. 82.
16, i. 42, 74, 125, 159.
17, ii. 103, 323.
19, i. 373, ii. 82, 294.
20, i. 163, 164.
III. 1, i, 222, 233, 254, 258, 263, ii. 6.
2-5, ii. 301.
2 ff., i. 147.
2, i. 254.
3, i. 257, 263.
4, i. 254, 263.
5, i. 254, ii. 5.
6 ff., i. 134.
6, i. 132.
8, i. 132, ii. 275.
10, i. 132, 157, 260.
11, i. 132, 260.
12, i. 132, 155.
13, i. 132, 160, 161, 253, 254.
14, i. 253.
15 ff., i. 140.
16, i. 132, 133, ii. 264, 277.
19 f., i. 158.
20, i. 162.
21, ii. 88.
22-25, i. 253.
22 f., i. 132, 149, ii. 87, 114.
22 ff., i. 138.
22, ii. 275.
23 ff., ii. 87.
26, ii. 310.

GALATIANS.

III. 27 f., ii. 253.
28, i. 233, 253, 255, 267, 271, ii. 310, 366.
IV. i, 168.
1, i. 179.
3, i. 253, 254.
4, i. 87, 143, 254.
4 f., i. 163, ii. 87.
5, i. 161, 254, 255.
6, i. 147, 254, ii. 112, 258, 286.
7, i. 179.
8, i. 252, 254.
9, i. 115, 154, 252, 254, ii. 87, 265.
10, i. 158, 259, 263.
11, i. 291, ii. 320.
12 ff., ii. 371.
13 ff., i. 112, ii. 297.
13, i. 235, 252, 253, 256.
14, i. 253.
15, i. 92, 253.
16, i. 256, 257, 261.
17, i. 261, 262, ii. 5.
18, i. 252, 256, 257.
19, i. 263.
20, i. 263.
21 ff., i. 133,
21, i. 263, ii. 5, 277.
24 ff., i. 179.
24, ii. 264, 305.
30, ii. 275.
V. 1 ff., i. 176.
1, i. 179, 255, 263, 359, ii. 31, 358.
2 ff., ii. 5.
2, i. 262.
3, i. 88, 256, 257, 259.
4, i. 263.
6, i. 255.
7, i. 254, 256, 263, ii. 6.
10, i. 258, 263.
11, i. 260, ii. 7, 103.
12, i. 259.
V. 13-VI. 10, i. 264.

GALATIANS.

V. 13, i. 255, ii. 31, 358, 369.
14, i. 155, ii. 360, 363.
15, i. 264, ii. 369.
16, i. 170, 255.
17, i. 152, ii. 358.
19-23, ii. 357.
19-21, ii. 353, 360.
21, i. 256, ii. 355, 368.
22 f., ii. 360.
24, i. 170, ii. 361.
25, ii. 358.
26-VI. 10, ii. 360.
26-VI. 5, i. 264.
26, ii. 371.
VI. 1, ii. 311.
2-5, ii. 371.
2, ii. 361.
6, ii. 11, 313.
7, ii. 355.
8, ii. 355.
11 ff., i. 223.
11, i. 298.
12, i. 259 ff., ii. 7.
13, i. 260, 403, ii. 5, 7.
14, i. 266.
15 ff., i. 270.
17, i. 266, 270.
18, i. 221.

EPHESIANS.

I. 3, ii. 287.
II. 1, ii. 163.
3, ii. 163.
5, ii. 163.
11, ii. 163.
14-18, ii. 163.
20, ii. 301.
III. 1 ff., ii. 241.
5, ii. 301.
21, ii. 287.
IV. 11, ii. 301, 334.
25-V. 21, ii. 392.
V. 22-VI. 9, ii. 392.

Ephesians.

VI. 10-18, ii. 392.
21, i. 378, ii. 163, 241.

Philippians.

I. 1, i. 219, 220, ii. 323, 325.
2, i. 221.
6, i. 280.
12-18, ii. 132.
13, ii. 132.
14 f., ii. 134.
17, ii. 134.
27, i. 281, ii. 358.
28 ff., i. 281.
II. 1 ff., i. 281, ii. 136.
1, ii. 371.
5 ff., ii. 356.
6 ff., i. 161, 163.
7, i. 143, 145.
9-11, ii. 137.
9, i. 143.
15, ii. 137, 285.
17, ii. 285.
18, i. 279, 280.
19 ff., i. 280.
19, ii. 131.
20 f., ii. 131, 135.
25, ii. 313.
III. 1-5, ii. 15.
1, i. 279, 280.
2 ff., i. 282, ii. 135.
3, ii. 248.
4 ff., i. 83.
7 f., i. 154.
8, ii. 265.
12 ff., i. 121.
18, ii. 15.
19, i. 403.
21, i. 8.
IV. 1 ff., i. 223.
2, i. 280, 282, ii. 324.
3, i. 280, ii. 324, 371.
4-9, ii. 361.
4, i. 280.
5, i. 281.
8, i. 281, ii. 136, 354.
9, i. 281.

Philippians.

IV. 10-18, ii. 313.
10 f., ii. 313.
15, i. 232, 234, 279.
16, i. 280.
18, i. 280, ii. 285.
20, ii. 287.
21 f., i. 224.
22, ii. 132.
23, i. 221.

Colossians.

III. 5-17, ii. 391, 392.
18-IV. 1, ii. 391.
IV. 5, ii. 354.
10, i. 290.
14, i. 300.
16, i. 219, ii. 278.

1 Thessalonians.

I. 1, i. 219, 220, 221, 280, 287.
2 ff., i. 286.
2, i. 222.
5, i. 292.
7, i. 231, 286.
8, i. 231.
9, i. 114, 289.
10, i. 114, ii. 355.
II. 1-III. 13, i. 222.
1-12, i. 288.
1 ff., i. 112, 286.
2, i. 234, 279, 281.
6, ii. 293.
7 f., ii. 297.
9, i. 122.
12, ii. 355.
13, i. 120.
14, i. 61, 112, 137, ii. 307.
16, ii. 13, 115.
18, i. 287, 292.
III. 1-6, i. 287.
1, i. 234, 280, 303.
2, i. 280, ii. 323.
2 ff., i. 293.
5, i. 287.

1 Thessalonians.

IV. 1-12, ii. 360.
1 ff., i. 222, 286, 293.
1, i. 120, ii. 355.
2, i. 120, ii. 263.
3-7, ii. 353.
3, i. 120, ii. 355, 389.
4 f., ii. 390.
6, i. 121.
9, i. 121.
10, i. 278.
11 f., i. 122, ii. 366.
12, i. 120, ii. 354, 356.
13-18, ii. 278.
13 ff., i. 121, 294.
15-17, ii. 39.
V. 1 ff., i. 121, 286, 295.
4 ff., ii. 356.
6, ii. 368.
9, ii. 355.
12, i. 286, 291, ii. 311, 319, 324.
14-23, ii. 360.
14, ii. 320, 366.
15, i. 294, ii. 320.
17 f., i. 294.
19, i. 286, 294.
20, i. 286, 294, ii. 301, 366.
21, ii. 270.
22, i. 294.
25 ff., i. 224.
26, i. 224.
27, i. 219, 288, ii. 278.
28, i. 221.

2 Thessalonians.

I. 11, i. 120.
II. 1-12, ii. 193.
15, ii. 303.

1 Timothy.

I. 2, ii. 336.
3 ff., ii. 164.
3, i. 379, ii. 163, 336.
12, ii. 323.
17, ii. 287.

1 Timothy.

I. 18, ii. 336.
20, ii. 164.
II. 8, ii. 394.
9 ff., ii. 394.
III. 1 ff., ii. 329, 335, 394.
1, ii. 330.
4, ii. 335.
8 ff., ii. 335, 394.
IV. 11-VI. 2, ii. 394.
IV. 14, ii. 329, 336.
V. 17 ff., ii. 329.
17, ii. 330, 336.
19 f., ii. 330.
VI. 20, ii. 329.

2 Timothy.

I. 2, ii. 336.
15-18, ii. 164.
15, i. 379.
IV. 5, ii. 323.
11, i. 300.
12, i. 379, ii. 164.
13 f., ii. 164.
16, ii. 138.
18, ii. 287.
19, ii. 164.

Titus.

I. 5 ff., ii. 394.
5, ii. 329, 336.
7, ii. 329, 330, 335.
9, ii. 335.
II. 1-9, ii. 394.
II. 11-III. 7, ii. 394.

Philemon.

24, i. 290, 300.

Hebrews.

III. 12, ii. 159.
VI. 1, ii. 395.
2, ii. 159.
6, ii. 159.
9, ii. 395.
12, ii. 395.

Hebrews.

X. 25, ii. 159.
29, ii. 159.
XI. ii. 395.
XIII. 7, ii. 326, 334.
17, ii. 324, 326, 334.
18-24, ii. 154.
19, ii. 158.
21, ii. 287.
22-24, ii. 158.
24, ii. 158, 326.

Revelation.

I. 1, ii. 175.
2, ii. 268.
4, i. 376, ii. 175, 200, 288.
5, ii. 288.
6, ii. 287.
7, ii. 196.
8, ii. 196.
9, ii. 175, 181.
10, ii. 247, 251, 268.
11, i. 376.
13, ii. 174, 196, 205.
16, ii. 196, 325.
17, ii. 174, 196.
20, ii. 325.
II. 1, ii. 325.
2 ff., ii. 165.
5, ii. 198.
6, ii. 165.
8, ii. 196.
9, ii. 199.
10, ii. 194.
12, ii. 196.
14, i. 215, ii. 202.
15, ii. 202.
16, ii. 196.
19, ii. 198, 323.
20, i. 215.
23 f., ii. 198.
26, ii. 198.
III. 1, ii. 200.
4, ii. 198.
8, ii. 198.
9, ii. 199.
14, ii. 196.
20, ii. 284, 286.

Revelation.

IV. 5, ii. 200.
11 ff., ii. 287.
11, ii. 260.
V. 1 ff., ii. 277.
1 f., ii. 180.
5, ii. 196.
6-14, ii. 289.
6, ii. 175, 196, 200.
8, ii. 204.
9, ii. 197, 260.
10, ii. 260.
12, ii. 196, 260.
13, ii. 204, 261.
VI. 9, ii. 194.
16, ii. 196.
VII. ii. 19, 177, 194, 197.
1-8, ii. 19.
4, ii. 396.
9-17, ii. 20.
9 ff., ii. 197.
10, ii. 204.
12, ii. 287, 289.
14, ii. 199.
17, ii. 196.
IX. 1 f., ii. 185.
11, ii. 185.
12, ii. 23, 179.
13-21, ii. 179, 192.
X. ii. 177, 180.
3 f., ii. 180.
8-11, ii. 180.
XI. ii. 177, 181.
1-14, ii. 21.
1 f., i. 65, ii. 175.
7, ii. 179, 185.
8, ii. 199.
13, ii. 287.
14, ii. 23, 179.
17 f., ii. 260, 261.
19, ii. 179.
XII. ii. 177, 178, 197.
1-12, ii. 25, 178.
1, ii. 178.
3, ii. 179, 185.
10-12, ii. 260.
11, ii. 198, 199.
13-17, ii. 178.
13 ff., ii. 26.
17, ii. 198, 199.

REVELATION.

XIII. ii. 177, 178, 179, 186, 187, 189, 194.
1, ii. 178, 185.
2, ii. 186.
3, ii. 184, 186, 190.
4 ff., ii. 186.
7, ii. 185.
8, ii. 175.
9, ii. 190.
10, ii. 184, 190.
11, ii. 187.
18, ii. 184, 186, 264.
XIV. ii. 178, 179.
1 ff., ii. 197.
1, ii. 178, 196, 396.
3 ff., ii. 198.
4, ii. 204, 372.
6-13, ii. 179.
7, ii. 287.
12 f., ii. 198.
14, ii. 205.
20, ii. 197.
XV. 3, ii. 198, 204, 261.
4, ii. 261.
5, ii. 179.
XVI. 6, i. 49.
9, ii, 287.
12-14, ii. 192, 193.
XVII. ii. 177, 178, 179, 188, 189, 193.
3, ii. 188.
8, ii. 184, 185, 190.
9, ii. 190, 264.
10, ii. 184, 186, 191.
11, ii. 184, 186, 190, 191.
12 ff., ii. 190.

REVELATION.

XVII. 14, ii. 191.
16, ii. 189.
XVIII. ii. 260.
9, ii. 189.
20, i. 49, ii. 300.
24, i. 49.
XIX. 1-8, ii. 260.
1, ii. 287.
4, ii. 289.
7, ii. 196, 287.
10, ii. 175, 199, 203.
11 ff., ii. 196.
XX. 1, ii. 185.
3, ii. 185.
4, ii. 194.
9, ii. 197.
12 f., ii. 198.
XXI. 14, ii. 175.
22, ii. 196, 204.
XXII. ii. 195.
1, ii. 196, 204.
3, ii. 196.
6, ii. 199.
8, ii. 175.
9, i. 49, ii. 175, 203, 300.
11 f., ii. 198.
14, ii. 199.
16, ii. 196.
17-20, ii. 286.
20, ii. 286, 289.
21, ii. 288.

OLD TESTAMENT.

Exodus XXIII. 20, i. 42.
Deut. VI. 8, ii. 187.
XVIII. 15, i. 41.

OLD TESTAMENT.

Deut. XIX. 15, i. 343.
XXV. 4, ii. 306.
XXX. 11-14, i. 89.
1 Kings XVIII. 38, ii. 187.
2 Kings I. 10, ii. 187.
Psalms XVI. i. 39.
CX. i. 39, 41.
Isaiah XXII. 13, ii. 370.
XXVIII. 11 ff., ii. 273.
XXIX. 13, ii. 303.
XL. 3, i. 42.
LX. 17, ii. 324.
Jeremiah XV. 2, ii. 190.
Ezekiel II. 1 ff., i. 127.
Daniel III. 6, ii. 187.
VII. 4-6, ii. 186.
VII. 7 f., ii. 185.
VII. 13, i. 127.
VII. 21, ii. 185.
VIII. ii. 187.
IX. 27, ii. 276.
Hosea VI. 2, i. 42.
Zechariah IV. 3, ii. 22.
XIII. 7, i. 1. 42.
Malachi III. 1, i. 42.

APOCRYPHAL BOOKS.

1 Macc. I. 51, ii. 324.
I. 54, ii. 24.
I. 59, ii. 24.
Macc. V. 22, ii. 324.
Wisdom I. 6, ii. 324.
XIII. i. 117.
XIV. ii. 353.
Tobit. XII. 8, i. 38.

CHRISTIAN AND OTHER WRITERS

Augustine, *Civ. Dei* VIII. 19, ii. 144.
Clem. Rom. 1 *ad Cor.* 1, ii. 328, 332, 334.
3, ii. 327, 332.
5, i. 239, ii. 137.
6, ii. 147.
13, ii. 39.
21, ii. 328, 332.
40, ii. 335.
42, ii. 325, 327.
44, ii. 285, 325, 327, 328, 334, 335.
46, ii. 39.
47, ii. 279.
54, ii. 327, 328, 333.
57, ii. 327, 328.
61, ii. 96.
Clem. *Homil.* II. 32, ii. 187.
VII. 3, i. 215.
Didache of the Apost. 31, ii. 285.
36, ii. 286.
37, ii. 302.
56, ii. 302.
Dio Cass. LX. 6, ii. 79.
Eusebius, *Hist. Ecc.* II. 23, ii. 16.
III. 5, ii. 17.
III. 11, ii. 17.
III. 20, i. 2.
III. 39, ii. 39, 68, 153, 332.
IV. 19, ii. 17.
IV. 23, i. 303.
V. 1, i. 215.
V. 20, ii. 166.
Hermas, Pastor, *Vis.* II. 4, ii. 328.
III. 1, ii. 328 f.
III. 5, ii. 329, 335.
Hermas, Pastor, *Vis.* III. 9, ii. 329, 334.
Mand. XI. ii. 329.
Sim. IX. 26, ii. 335.
IX. 27, ii. 334.
Ignatius, Smyrn. 8, ii. 285.
Josephus, *Ant.* X. 4, ii. 324.
XII. 5, ii. 324.
XX. 8, ii. 145.
XX. 9, ii. 16.
Vita III. ii. 145.
Irenaeus, *Haer.* I. 6, i. 215.
II. 2, ii. 167.
Ignatius, *Haer.* II. 22, ii. 332.
III. 1, 3, ii. 167.
III. 2, 3, ii. 332.
III. 11, ii. 202.
IV. 27, 32, ii. 167.
IV. 27, 30, 32, ii. 332.
V. 5, 33, 36, ii. 332.
V. 6, ii. 271.
Justin Martyr, *Apo.* I. 67, ii. 285.
Dial. 17, ii. 143.
35, i. 215
41, ii. 285.
108, ii. 143.
114, ii. 143.
117, ii. 285.
Minuc. Felix, *Oct.* 11, ii. 144.
30, i. 215.
Sibylline Oracles V. 40-50, ii. 183.
Suetonius, *Claud.* 25, ii. 78.
Nero 16, ii. 141.
Tacitus, *Ann.* XV. 44, ii. 141.
Hist. V. 5, ii. 144.
Tertullian, *Apology*, 9, i. 215.

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES AND SUBJECTS

A

Abba, ii. 286.
Abraham, i. 68, 157, 269, 373; ii. 5, 30, 88, 104, 106, 110, 217, 221.
—— Promise to, i. 39, 134, 168.
Achaia, i. 113, 219, 231, 232, 233, 234, 249, 271, 272, 276, 286, 299, 303, 305, 377, 396, 402; ii. 72, 73, 314, 320.
Achaicus, i. 113, 305, 318; ii. 320.
Acts. *See* Apostles.
Adam, i. 149 f., 171.
—— *in parallel to Christ*, i. 138, 143, 150, 171; ii. 110.
Adramyttium, ii. 125.
Adriatic, i. 229.
Agabus (*Prophet*), i. 49, 105, 244; ii. 13, 116, 270, 300.
Agrippa I., i. 9, 75, 93, 183; ii. 3.
—— II., ii. 15, 16, 120, 121.
αἵρεσις, i. 45.
Albinus, ii. 15, 16, 119.
Alexander (*Jew in Ephesus*), i. 389; ii. 164.
—— (*son of Simon of Cyrene*), i. 381.
Alexandria, i. 230; ii. 169.
Alexandrians, i. 47, 63.
Allegorising, i. 67, 133, 321; ii. 159.
Amen, ii. 289.
Ampliatus, i. 394 ff.
Ananias (Acts v.), i. 24, 55 f.; ii. 349.
—— of Damascus, i. 92, 102.
Annas, ii. 15, 16.
Ancyra, i. 270.
Andrew, ii. 170.
Andronicus, i. 388, 391, 393, 396, 399; ii. 98, 294.
Angels, i. 70, 76, 274; ii. 204, 385.
Angels of the Churches, ii. 325.
Antichrist (Apoc.), ii. 185, 188, 191.
—— 2 Thess., ii. 193.
Antichrist, 1 John, ii. 239.
Antinomianism, ii. 202, 239.
Antioch *in Syria*, i. 47, 49, 74, 97, 99, 104, 176, 178, 199, 202, 204, 207, 214, 234, 236, 247, 258, 262, 293, 329; ii. 3, 10, 74, 270, 301, 307, 309, 314 f.
—— *Founding of Church*, i. 105.
—— *Controversy and its consequences*, i. 189 ff., 196 ff., 227, 236 f., 262, 269; ii. 97, 148.
—— *in Pisidia*, i. 40, 239, 248, 275; ii. 318.
Antipas, ii. 194, 201.
Apelles, i. 395, 397, 399.
Apocalypse, i. 49, 379; ii. 147, 161, 248, 251, 264, 268, 277, 287 f., 325.
—— *Composition*, ii. 19, 162, 166, 171, 173, 236.
—— *date of*, ii. 19, 180.
—— *Elements of*, ii. 19, 173.
—— *Heading and Close*, ii. 175.
—— *Relationship to John's Gospel*, ii. 171 ff., 210 ff.
—— *Aim and Character*, ii. 173 ff., 194 ff.
—— *Attitude to Judaism*, ii. 197.
—— *The beast*, ii. 185.
—— *Hymns*, ii. 259 f.
—— *State of affairs in Asia*, ii. 166, 200.
Apocalyptic sayings of Jesus, ii. 22, 268.
Apollinaris *of Hierapolis*, ii. 169.
Apollos, i. 319 ff., 332, 391, 404; ii. 10, 97, 228, 293, 296.
—— *Party of*, i. 321.
Apostles, ii. 291-299; cf. i. 12, 21, 38, 44, 185 f., 355, 360, 371; ii. 8. *See also* Primitive Apostles and Paul.
—— Acts of the, *Criticism of*, i. 94 f., 102 ff., 199 ff., 202 ff., 208, 213, 226, 236 ff., 247.

Apostles, *History of Primitive Church*, i. 16, 21 ff., 39, 41, 43, 52, 55, 59, 62 ff., 73, 104; ii. 149, 271, 339.
—— *History of Paul: Early part*, i. 7 ff., 79 ff., 91, 102 f.
—— —— *His mission*, i. 110 f., 236, 238, 241 f.
—— *Galatia*, i. 233, 271.
—— *Macedonia*, i. 283, 290.
—— *Corinth*, i. 307, 310, 368.
—— *Ephesus*, i. 389, 401, 403.
—— *Athens*, i. 303.
—— *Apollos*, i. 320, 404; ii. 97.
—— *Silas*, i. 292.
—— *Latest period*, i. 246, 271, 298, 403; ii. 1, 15, 72, 116, 120, 123, 129.
Apostolic Council, i. 99, 102, 180 f., 247.
Apostolic decree, i. 199 f., 208 f., 213 f.
Appii Forum, ii. 128.
Aquila, i. 111, 307, 308, 309, 312, 320, 381, 384, 388, 391, 393, 394, 399, 400, 404; ii. 164, 321.
Arabia, i. 95, 103.
Arena, i. 386, 391.
Aretas, i. 98, 99.
Aristobulus, i. 397, 399.
Aristarchus, i. 244, 290, 300, 391; ii. 125.
Aristion, ii. 168.
Artemis, i. 389.
Ascension of Christ, i. 16, 21.
Asia, i. 47, 64, 232, 234, 238, 249, 271, 276, 376-405; ii. 13, 149, 160, 161-172, 181, 200, 308.
Asia Minor, i. 200, 226, 247; ii. 73, 76, 162, 166, 240, 369.
Asyncritus, i. 398.
Athens, i. 110, 234, 241, 242, 248.
Augustine, ii. 144.
Augustus, i. 233.

B

Babylon, *Rome*, ii. 192.
Balaam, Balaamites, ii. 194, 202.
Ban, i. 25, 336, 351; ii. 379.
Baptism, i. 22, 169, 308; ii. 222, 251-254.
Bar-Cochba, ii. 190.
Bar-Jesus, i. 111.
Barnabas, i. 24, 50, 54, 75, 100, 102, 105, 106, 107, 109, 179, 180, 185, 186, 189, 192, 199, 200, 202, 210, 211, 227, 236, 246, 274, 327, 333; ii. 10, 97, 293, 296, 300, 309, 318.
Barnabas, Epistle of, i. 71.
Beasts, worship of, i. 115, 117.
Beatitudes, i. 34; ii. 47, 57, 344.
Beautiful gate (of Temple), i. 24.
Benediction, i. 221; ii. 287 f.
Beroea, i. 110, 239, 279, 292, 300.
Bethlehem, ii. 220.
Bishop, i. 219; ii. 326-337.
Bithynia, i. 376; ii. 149, 160.
Blood, use of, i. 215, 216.
Bread, breaking of, i. 49, 52; ii. 247, 283.

C

Caesarea, i. 30, 50, 77, 103, 208, 226, 243, 244, 246, 248, 290; ii. 13, 116, 123, 131, 309.
Caiaphas, ii. 218.
Cappadocia, ii. 149.
Caria, i. 376.
Carpocrates, ii. 203.
Catholic Epistles, ii. 247, 330.
Celibacy, ii. 371, 388.
Cenchreae, i. 305, 380; ii. 321.
Cephas. *See* Peter.
Cephas-party in Corinth, i. 326 ff., 354 f.; ii. 3 ff., 15.
Cerinthus, ii. 167, 202.
Cestius, ii. 18.
Charismata, i. 13; ii. 257.
Chastity, i. 343; ii. 387.
Chloe, i. 305, 318, 325, 335.
Christians, *persecution of*, i. 22 f., 71, 75 f., 112, 215; ii. 159.
—— *Neronian*, ii. 20, 139, 141.
χριστιανοί, i. 47, 108.
Christ, Jesus, *Descent of*, i. 127.
—— *Brothers and kinsmen*, i. 21, 330; ii. 8, 17, 97, 294.
—— *Attitude to Baptism*, ii. 252.
—— *Relation to Disciples*, i. 28 f., 43 f., 53.
—— *Death and its date*, i. 20, 71, 129 f., 159 ff.; ii. 170.
—— *Teaching as to Kingdom of God, Law, and Righteousness*, 33 ff.; ii. 341-344.
—— *as to His death and return*, i. 16, 65, 130.

Christus-party in Corinth, i. 325 ff., 354-359, 363-368; ii. 1-8, 17, 61, 69.
Church Life, ii. 246-397.
—— *Jewish Christian*, i. 1-78, 124-131, 184, 188-196 f., 205 f., 213 f., 228, 258, 327; ii. 1-71, 73, 247 f., 303, 314-317.
—— *Gentile Christian*, i. 110 f., 215, 267, 379; ii. 73.
—— *Universal*, i. 188.
Cilicia, i. 47, 64, 99, 109, 184, 247.
Circumcision, i. 70, 73, 104, 157, 176, 179, 181, 184, 199, 201, 212, 259 f., 331; ii. 10, 14, 216.
Claudius, i. 49, 76, 105, 307; ii. 145.
—— Lysias, ii. 120.
Clemens, Alexandrinus, i. 215.
—— *in Philippi*, i. 280.
—— Romanus, ii. 174,
—— Letter to Corinth, ii. 151, 155 ff. *See* Index of Passages.
Clementine Homilies. *See* Index of Passages.
Cleophas, ii. 17.
Cnidus, ii. 126.
Collection for Jerusalem, i. 186, 198, 232, 238, 249, 266, 271, 278, 290, 299, 342, 364, 378, 402; ii. 11, 12, 72, 115, 311, 313.
Colossians, Epistle to, i. 218; ii. 240-245, 383, 391.
Commandments of Noah, i. 205.
Commodus, ii. 59.
Community (κοινωνία), i. 46, 185 ff; ii. 307.
Corinth, i. 229 ff., 276, 287, 292 f., 302-375, 378, 382, 387, 402; ii. 4, 72, 98, 148, 156, 247 ff., 266, 320 f., 334, 381 f., 387.
Corinthians, Letters to, i. 218, 223, 304, 349 ff., 370, 377.
—— I., i. 223, 224, 277, 314, 318, 334-341, 370, 381; ii. 102, 308.
—— II., i. 219, 223, 343, 349, 359-368, 370, 373; ii. 102.
—— *Lost letters*, i. 322, 343.
—— *Letter of Church to Paul*, i. 322.
Cornelius, i. 51, 103, 208, 211.
Crete, ii. 126, 336.
Crispus, i. 113, 305, 308, 309, 310; ii. 320.
Cures, Miraculous, i. 22, 25, 30, 40, 103, 240, 276; ii. 60, 66 f., 127.
Cyprus, i. 105, 109, 247, 274.
Cyrene. *See* Simon.
Cyrenians, i. 47, 64, 105.

D

Damaris, i. 303.
Damascus, i. 91, 95, 98 f., 102 ff., 239, 386.
Daniel, ii. 24, 185, 187, 189, 194.
David, i. 39, 87, 128; ii. 110, 220.
—— *Son of*, i. 19, 87, 127, 142 f.; ii. 224.
Deacons, i. 22, 56, 62, 219, 305; ii. 309, 314, 323, 329, 382.
Deliverances, Miraculous, i. 23, 284.
Demetrius, i. 391.
Demoniac *in the Synagogue*, ii. 67.
—— *the Gadarene*, ii. 64, 65, 67.
Demons, i. 30, 115, 129, 283; ii. 375 f.
Derbe, i. 272, 274, 275.
Didache of the Twelve Apostles. *See* Index of Passages.
Didaskalia, ii. 302.
Dio Cassius. *See* Index of Passages.
Dionysius, i. 303.
Divine Service, ii. 246 ff.
Divorce, i. 37, 323; ii. 39, 388.
Docetism, ii. 238, 239.
Domitian, ii. 146, 181, 191, 194.
Doxology, i. 137, 382; ii. 287.

E

Easter Controversy, ii. 170.
Ebionitism, i. 160, 215; ii. 1, 27, 69, 71, 93, 149, 243, 349.
Ecstasy, i. 324, 372; ii. 272, 365.
Egypt, ii. 88, 199.
—— *Egyptian Cults*, i. 117.
Egyptian, the (Acts xxi. 38), ii. 116.
ἐκκλησία, i. 48.
Elders *of Ephesus*. *See* Miletus.
—— *in the Apoc.*, ii. 330.
—— *in Jerusalem*, ii. 314 f.
—— *in Pauline Churches*, 318 f.
—— *in the later development*, 326 ff.
—— —— *Epistle of Clement*, 327 f.
—— —— *Book of Hermas*, 328 f.
—— —— *Pastoral Epistles*, 329 f.
—— *Origin and nature of*, 331.
Elias, i. 9; ii. 22, 187.
Elymas, i. 240, 274.
Emmaus, i. 10; ii. 284.

Enoch, ii. 174.
Epaphras, ii. 242.
Epaphroditus, i. 280; ii. 137, 313.
Epaenetus, i. 231, 380, 394, 395, 396, 399.
Ephesians, Epistle to the, i. 218, 378; ii. 240-245, 301, 331, 333, 392.
Ephesus (*cf.* Acts), i. 110 f., 113, 232, 234, 235, 239, 240, 241, 242, 246, 247, 248, 249, 272, 277, 281, 300, 305, 306, 308, 309, 318, 319, 335, 342, 343, 347, 348, 360, 376-405; ii. 13, 72, 98, 125, 161-166, 181, 201-203, 240, 308, 321, 336, 382.
Erastus, i. 113.
Essenes, i. 46, 57; ii. 243, 290.
Ethnarch in Damascus, i. 98.
Euodia, i. 282.
Euphrates, ii. 183, 193.
Eusebius. *See* Index of Passages.
Eutychus, i. 240, 244.
Eve, i. 134, 358.
Exaltation of Christ, i. 39, 142 f., 144 f., 164.
Exposition of Scripture, i. 133; ii. 304.
Ezra, ii. 174.

F

Famine, i. 50, 105; ii. 301.
Feasts, *Jewish*, i. 259.
Feeding, *Miracles of*, i. 53; ii. 65 f., 284.
Felix, i. 226; ii. 116 ff.
Festus, ii. 15, 16, 116 ff.
Fight with beasts, Paul's, i. 238, 385, 391, 405.
Fishes, *Draught of*, i. 11.
Flesh. *See* σάρξ.
Florinus, *Letter to*, ii. 166.
Fortunatus, i. 113, 305, 318; ii. 320.
Fortune-teller in Philippi, i. 240, 244.

G

Gaius of Derbe, i. 272.
—— of Corinth, i. 113, 305.
—— from Macedonia, i. 300, 389, 391.
Galatia and its name, 232 f., 270 ff.
—— Churches of, i. 112, 176, 179, 197, 232 ff., 237, 249 ff., 252-275, 330, 340, 355, 358, 364, 372, 376 f.; ii. 6 f., 149.
Galatians, Epistle to, i. 81, 155, 165, 176, 197, 218, 222, 233, 252, 255 f., 261, 263-266, 267, 269, 283, 327, 359; ii. 9, 99, 103, 104, 112, 360, 364.
Galba, ii. 166, 186.
Galilee, i. 2 f., 6, 10 f., 17, 20; ii. 154, 220.
Galileans, i. 20, 31, 47, 57, 63.
Gallio, i. 308.
Gamaliel, i. 23 ff., 27, 81.
Gematria, ii. 264.
Genealogical tree of Jesus, i. 19, 128.
Gnosis, i. 124, 216; ii. 160, 237 f., 263.
Gog and Magog, ii. 192, 196.
Goods, community of, i. 23, 25, 45, 55.
Grace, Divine, i. 165 ff.
Greece, i. 235, 368; ii. 76, 149.
Greeks, i. 250.
—— in John's Gospel, ii. 219.
Greetings, i. 221.

H

Hadrian, ii. 183
Hagar, i. 133.
Haggada, ii. 38.
Halacha, ii. 38, 262.
Hands, *Imposition of*, ii. 254, 299, 329.
Heathenism, i. 114 ff., 118 ff., ii. 352.
Hebrews, Letters to, i. 174; ii. 155-160, 229, 395.
Hegesippus, i. 2; ii. 3, 16.
ἡγούμενοι, ii. 326, 334.
Hellas, i. 242, 248.
Hellenists, i. 62, 67, 75, 102; ii. 37, 78, 96.
Hermas *in Ephesus*, i. 398.
—— Book of, ii. 174, 182, 328, 334.
Hermes, *the god*, i. 246, 274.
—— *in Ephesus*, i. 398.
Herod the Great, i. 76.
—— Antipas, i. 9; ii. 118.
Herodion, i. 397, 399.
Hierapolis, ii. 169, 172, 201, 219.
History of Mankind *in Paul*, i. 138; ii. 114.
Hymenaeus, ii. 164.

I

Iconium, i. 110, 239, 248, 272 ff.; ii. 318.
Idolatry, i. 115, 137.
Ignatian Letters, ii. 201, 285, 336.

Incest *at Corinth, case of*, i. 325, 336, 351; ii. 312, 368.
Inspiration. *See* Revelation.
Insult to Paul at Corinth, i. 349 ff., 360; ii. 312.
Irenaeus. *See* Index of Passages.
Israel, i. 28, 30, 87, 89, 133, 166, 168.
—— the seventy elders, i. 31.
Italy, ii. 125.

J

James, the Lord's brother, i. 12 ff., 24, 76, 98, 100, 175-243, 258, 330; ii. 1-8, 15-18, 148, 149, 293-297, 315-317.
James, Epistle of, ii. 1, 26-32, 40, 247, 395.
James, son of Zebedee, i. 76, 104; ii. 2.
Jason, i. 113.
Jerome, ii. 153.
Jerusalem, i. 1-78, 95, 97 f., 100 ff., 174-251, 258-263, 269-275, 277, 290, 300, 329, 342, 363, 365, 368, 379, 382, 388; ii. 1-32, 69, 70, 72, 78, 115 f., 138, 148, 150, 161, 163, 171, 178, 181, 226, 279, 292 ff., 296 ff., 300 f., 314-317, 323, 340, 348.
Jewish Christianity and Judaism, i. 28, 175-216, 227, 237, 252, 257-263, 268, 282, 283, 325-333, 349-359, 367-375; ii. 1-32, 72-114, 134 f., 339-352, 395-397.
Jezebel, ii. 202.
Joel, i. 39, 51.
John, the Apostle, i. 24, 32, 76, 182, 186, 211, 379; ii. 161-172, 241, 293.
—— *Gospel of*, i. 10; ii. 150-153, 161, 166-172, 182, 206-236, 252, 279.
—— *Epistles*, ii. 161, 238-240, 397.
—— Revelation. *See* Apocalypse.
—— the Baptist, i. 9, 32, 42.
—— baptism and disciples of, i. 51, 240, 320, 404; ii. 64, 226, 252.
—— Mark, i. 77, 81, 107, 109, 202.
—— the Presbyter. *See* Papias' Presbyter.
Joppa, i. 30, 103, 212, 240.
Jordan, ii. 17.
Joseph, *the Patriarch*, i. 68.
—— *Jesus' Father*, i. 128; ii. 17.
—— *Barnabas*, i. 55.
Josephus. *See* Index of Passages.
Judaea, i. 21, 48, 99, 101, 105, 175, 234, 289; ii. 23 f., 95, 115, 116, 122, 130, 142.
Judas, the Betrayer, i. 21.
—— Apostle, ii. 170.
—— Barsabbas, i. 49, 200, 300.
Jude, Epistle of, ii. 160.
Junias, i. 388, 391, 393, 396, 399, 404; ii. 98, 294.
Justification, i. 74, 165-172, 190 ff.; ii. 156.
Justin Martyr. *See* Index of Passages.

K

Kingdom of God, the, i. 125 f., 141; ii. 343-346.
Kiss, the holy, ii. 288.

L

Laodicea, ii. 201, 203, 245.
Last Judgment, i. 115, 118, 121, 158, 168, 172, 296; ii. 24.
Lawsuits of Christians, i. 325, 336; ii. 312, 380.
Law, *in primitive Christianity*, i. 34 ff.; ii. 303 f.
—— *in Paul*, i. 154 ff., 202 ff.; ii. 304 ff.
—— *in post-apostolic age*, ii. 156.
Lectures in the Churches, ii. 262-266.
Letters of Introduction (ἐπιστολαὶ συστατικαί), i. 218, 305, 357, 361; ii. 311.
—— *Rom.* xvi. 1-23, i. 379, 388, 392-401.
Libertines, i. 47, 64.
Liturgy, i. 221; ii. 286.
Logia (λόγια λόγοι), ii. 39, 40.
Logos, Johannine doctrine of the, ii. 171, 197, 205, 226-236.
Lord's Prayer, ii. 258, 287, 344.
—— Supper, i. 52, 130, 314, 331, 340; ii. 39, 222, 249 f., 279-286.
Lucius (Rom. xvi. 21), i. 113.
—— of Cyrene, i. 50.
Luke, i. 244-300.
Luke's Gospel, i. 211, 213, 240, 245, 300 ii. 39-45, 56-62, 63-69, 69-71, 160, 259.
Lycaonia, i. 109, 233, 247, 275.
Lycia, ii. 125.
Lydda, i. 30, 103
Lydia, i. 244, 283 f.

Lydia, province of, i. 376.
Lyons, i. 215.
Lysias. *See* Claudius.
Lystra, i. 117, 212, 238, 246, 272 f.; ii. 318.

M

Macedonia, i. 231 ff., 242 ff., 247 ff., 271 ff., 276-302, 304, 307, 312, 340, 342, 347, 364, 366, 368, 377 f., 382, 387, 389, 402; ii. 4, 12, 72 f., 163, 311, 314.
Magog. *See* Gog.
Malta, ii. 126, 127, 128.
Manaen, i. 50; ii. 300.
Maran Atha, ii. 286.
Marcion, ii. 329.
Marcus Aurelius, i. 215.
Mark's Gospel, ii. 33-71, 160.
Martha, ii. 350.
Marriage, i. 121, 323, 324, 340; ii. 384.
—— *Mixed*, ii. 371, 376, 384, 388, 390.
—— *Re-marriage*, ii. 388, 390.
Martyrdom, ii. 20, 27.
Mary, *Mother of Jesus*, i. 21; ii. 261.
—— *Mother of John Mark*, i. 49.
—— *Sister of Martha*, ii. 350.
—— *in Ephesus*, i. 396 f.
Matthew's Gospel, ii. 33-71, 150, 206.
Meals, common, i. 52 ff., 189; ii. 60, 283 f., 290.
Melchizedek, ii. 158.
Melito of Sardis, ii. 169.
Memra of God, ii. 228.
Messiah, Jewish, i. 87, 145, 159.
—— Jesus, i. 19, 32, 39, 45, 114, 126; ii. 37, 276.
Miletus, i. 243, 248, 379, 403; ii. 163.
Minucius, Felix. *See* Index of Passages.
Mnason, i. 274.
Moloch, i. 69,
Monarchianism, ii. 170.
Monotheism, i. 114, 119.
Montanism, ii. 169.
Moses, i. 39, 64, 66, 68 f., 133, 150, 155, 158, 199, 206, 237, 269, 363, 373; ii. 158, 217, 224, 261, 275.
Muratorian Canon, ii. 138.
Myrrha, ii. 125.
Mysia, i. 376; ii. 125.
Mystery, i. 120, 126.
Mysticism of John, ii. 231.

N

Narcissus, i. 381, 397, 399.
Nasaraeans, i. 47; ii. 27.
Nathanael, ii. 170.
Nazirite vow, ii. 14.
Nereus, i. 398.
Nero, ii. 20, 95, 139, 141-147, 153, 183-194.
Nicolaitans, i. 194, 201 f.
Noah, ii. 174.

O

Oaths, i. 37.
Olympas, i. 398.
Onesimus, ii. 245.
Oracles, Sibylline. *See* Index of Passages.
Original sin (Paul), i. 149 f.
Otho, ii. 186.

P

Palestine, i. 110.
Pamphylia, i. 109, 247, 275.
Paphlagonia, i. 233.
Paphos, i. 240.
Papias of Hierapolis, ii. 39, 45, 68, 167 ff., 332.
Parables, ii. 49 ff., 53 f., 59 ff.
Parthians, ii. 184, 193.
Parousia. *See* Return of Christ.
Passover, i. 160; ii. 279.
—— controversy as to, ii. 170.
Passion in the Gospels, History of Christ's, ii. 69.
Pastoral Epistles, i. 218; ii. 329, 334, 336, 393.
Patmos, ii. 181, 247.
Patrobas, i. 398.
Paul, *Origin and Name*, i. 80, 81.
—— *Trade*, i. 111, 301.
—— Travels, i. 96, 102, 105, 177, 227, 238; ii. 114.
—— Fortunes, i. 238, 253, 311, 370, 385, 402.
—— Revelations and Tradition, i. 371; ii. 36, 63. *See* Contents.

Pella, ii. 2, 17.
Pentateuch, ii. 275.
Pentecost, i. 21 f., 26 f., 39, 50, 51, 91; ii. 247, 271, 299.
Perga, i. 275.
Pergamum, ii. 194, 201.
Persis, i. 394, 395, 399.
Pessinus, i. 270.
Peter, i. 14 ff., 39 ff., 74 ff., 96 ff., 103 ff., 177-212, 326 ff.; ii. 1 ff., 148-155, 207 ff., 240, 292 ff.
1 Peter, ii. 149, 153, 160, 172, 392, 394.
2 Peter, ii. 160.
Petrine party. *See* Cephas party.
Pharisees, i. 15, 27 f., 35 f., 45, 72, 210; ii. 16, 219, 224, 290, 341.
Philadelphia, ii. 199, 201, 203.
Philemon, Epistle to, ii. 245, 383.
Philippi, i. 218 f., 232, 234, 239 f., 243, 246, 278, 279-285, 288, 300, 389; ii. 131-137, 313, 365, 382.
Philippians, Epistle to, i. 83, 166, 218, 223, 279-285, 300, 378; ii. 15, 131-137, 145, 151, 155, 322, 323, 361, 364 f.
Philip, *Apostle*, ii. 170 f., 201, 219, 221.
Philo, i. 67, 145; ii. 228.
Philologus, i. 398.
Phlegon, i. 398.
Phoebe, i. 305, 380, 381 ff., 388, 391, 402; ii. 321.
Phoenicia, i. 105, 210.
Phrygia, i. 232, 249, 273, 376.
Pilate, i. 1, 72; ii. 118, 142.
Pillars, the, i. 31, 79, 182, 196; ii. 9, 150, 293, 297, 316.
Pisidia, i. 109, 110, 233, 247, 275.
Pius, ii. 174.
Pliny, ii. 143, 146, 194, 249, 263, 285.
Polycarp, ii. 166, 167, 237.
Polycrates, ii. 168.
Pontus, ii. 143.
Poor, i. 53-57, 62, 188; ii. 381. *See* Collection.
Poppaea, ii. 145.
Pre-existence, i. 146.
Presbyter. *See* Elders.
Presbyter, *apud Papias*, ii. 45, 68, 153, 167.
Priscilla (Prisca), i. 111, 307, 308, 309, 320, 381, 384, 388, 391, 393 f., 399 f., 404; ii. 164, 321.
Prophecy, Christian, i. 49 f., 124, 134, 294, 302, 324, 341; ii. 19-26, 255-257, 266-271, 299-302.
Psalms, Christian, ii. 259 ff.
Pseudo-Clementines, i. 215; ii. 149.
Punishment by miracle, i. 23, 25, 111 351.
Puteoli, ii. 126, 128, 130.

Q

Quartus, i. 113.
Quotations, O.T. in New, i. 41.
—— from opponents by Paul, ii. 102 ff.

R

Resurrection, i. 22, 385.
—— Deniers of, i. 325, 334, 337 f.; ii. 370.
—— of Christ, i. 3-19, 25, 33, 39, 51, 83, 128, 129, 314, 328, 338; ii. 269.
Return of Christ, i. 17, 21, 51, 114, 164, 228, 295, 338; ii. 209, 389.
Revelation, *Nature*, i. 116, 306.
—— *Law*, i. 158.
—— *Gospel*, i. 127, 144, 168 f., 177.
—— *Prophecy*, i. 48, 312; ii. 266 ff.
—— *Personal*, i. 15, 82 f., 86, 88, 90, 135, 177, 371.
Rhegium, ii. 128.
Rock in the Desert, i. 133, 145.
Roman Empire, i. 226 ff.; ii. 183.
Romans, Epistle to, 115 ff., 131, 165, 168, 220, 222, 228, 235, 359, ii. 72-114, 135, 361, 364.
Rome, i. 49, 76, 117, 229 f., 243, 248, 279, 307, 309, 380; ii. 4, 15, 72-160, 183, 185-194, 240, 266, 298, 301, 313, 322, 353, 369, 371.
Rufus, i. 381, 395, 397.

S

Sacrifice, Christian, ii. 285.
—— Heathen, i. 115, 205; ii. 285.
Sacrificial death of Christ, i. 159 ff.
—— flesh, i. 207, 215, 323, 331; ii. 373 ff.
—— meals, i. 340; ii. 369.
Sadducees, i. 22 f., 27, 44; ii. 16.
Salutations, i. 221.
Salvation, way of, i. 136, 147, 154.

Samaria, i. 21, 210.
Samaritans, i. 30; ii. 350.
Samaritan woman, ii. 215.
Sanctification. *See* Justification.
Sapphira, i. 25, 55.
σάρξ, i. 151 ff., 162; ii. 357.
Saul. *See* Paul.
Sayings of Jesus, ii. 38-62.
Sceva, i. 240, 404.
Scriptural proof, i. 33, 39-42, 124 f., 131-135, 149, 156, 256; ii. 224, 276.
Scriptures, Holy, i. 100, 131 f., 268, 302; ii. 156, 159, 275 f., 303.
Second Advent. *See* Return of Christ.
Secundus, i. 290, 300.
Seneca, i. 117.
Sergius Paulus, i. 80, 111, 274.
Sermon on the Mount, i. 35 ff.; ii. 30, 40, 47, 55, 56 f.
Sidon, ii. 125.
Silas, i. 50, 200, 242, 292, 307, 310; ii. 300.
Silvanus, i. 220, 280, 287, 292, 295, 304, 394; ii. 293, 296.
Simeon Niger, i. 50.
Simon Magus, i. 240; ii. 149, 187.
—— of Cyrene, i. 381.
Sin, i. 148 ff., 169 ff.
Slaves, i. 397; ii. 382.
Smyrna, ii. 199, 201, 203.
Sodom, ii. 199.
Solomon, i. 68.
Solomon's porch, i. 24, 48
Son of God, i. 19, 127, 142, 144.
Son of Man, i. 19, 127, 141, 145.
Sopatros, i. 300.
Sosipatros, i. 113.
Sosthenes, i. 113, 223, 306, 309, 310.
Spain, i. 229, 231; ii. 72, 76, 84, 115, 138.
Spirit, Holy, i. 135, 164.
—— *Outpouring of*, i. 21, 51, 91.
—— *Imparting of*, i. 240, 320; ii. 254.
Spirits. *See* Demons.
Stachys, i. 394, 396, 399.
Stephanas, i. 113, 231, 303, 305, 309, 318, 319, 335, 396; ii. 320.
Stephen, i. 21, 22, 23, 47, 60-71, 73, 76, 86, 102, 240; ii. 97, 292, 340.
Suetonius, ii. 78, 141, 144.
Swords, *the two*, ii. 350.
Symeon, son of Cleophas, ii. 17.
Synagogue, i. 46 f., 57, 61, 110 f., 274, 284; ii. 246, 254, 258.
Synoptic Gospels, ii. 2, 33-71, 215, 279 f., 340.
Syntyche, i. 280, 282.
Synzygos, i. 280, 282.
Syracuse, ii. 128.
Syria, i. 99, 109, 184, 226, 248, 275, 308, 368; ii. 149 f.

T

Tabernacle, i. 69.
Tacitus. *See* Index of Passages.
Talmud, i. 205.
Tarsus, i. 81, 99, 103, 105.
Tavion, i. 270.
Temple, i. 48, 64 ff., 74; ii. 21, 23.
Temple-Tax, ii. 348.
Tertius, i. 113, 224, 381.
Tertullian, i. 215; ii. 191.
Tertullus, ii. 116, 122.
Thessalonica, i. 49, 110, 232, 234, 239, 241, 278, 279 ff., 285-295, 300, 304, 333; ii. 125, 266, 270, 301, 313, 322, 359, 366.
Thessalonians I., i. 120, 218, 222, 285 ff., 293 ff., 297, 299, 355, 364.
—— II., i. 218, 295-298.
Thomas, ii. 170, 221.
Thyatira, i. 284; ii. 201 ff.
Tiberius, i. 1; ii. 142.
Timothy, i. 200, 212, 220, 244, 272, 280, 287, 293, 295, 304, 307, 310, 319, 326, 335, 342, 346, 348, 379, 382, 394; ii. 131, 135, 158, 164, 165, 262, 293, 296, 298, 336.
—— I. and II., i. 218, 379; ii. 163 f., 240, 329, 393.
Titius, Justus, i. 110, 113, 308 f.
Titus, i. 99, 179, 182, 184, 185, 198, 201, 209, 212, 300, 346, 353, 360, 387, 394; ii. 77, 311, 336.
—— Epistle to, i. 218; ii. 329, 333.
—— Emperor, ii. 191.
Tongues, speech with, i. 25, 51, 324; ii. 249, 251, 255 f., 259, 268, 271-275.
Trajan, ii. 143, 146, 160, 167, 194, 249, 263.
Transfiguration, i. 15, 128.

Tres Tabernae, ii. 128.
Troas, i. 52, 242, 243, 244, 271, 273, 278, 283, 300, 347, 402.
Trophimus, i. 376, 402; ii. 163.
Tryphaena, i. 395 f., 399.
Tryphosa, i. 395 f., 399.
Tychicus, i. 376, 378, 379, 402; ii. 163, 241.
Tyrannus, i. 111, 392.
Tyre, ii. 13, 116.
Twelve, the, i. 12, 28; ii. 291-294.

U

Urbanus, i. 393, 396, 399.

V

Valentinian II., ii. 144.
Veiling of women, i. 324, 339; ii. 385.
Vespasian, ii. 186.
Victor, ii. 168.
Virginity, i. 340; ii. 371, 388, 396.
Vitellius, ii. 186.

W

War, Jewish, ii. 2, 153, 184, 190.
'We,' source of the Acts, i. 43, 52, 241-245, 290, 376; ii. 116, 125 ff., 283.
Widows, i. 56; ii. 349, 388.
Witnesses, the two (Apoc.), ii. 21.
Woes, Apocalyptic, ii. 23.
—— in Sermon on the Mount, ii. 57.
Woman *in heaven* (*Apoc.*), ii. 25.
—— *in Pauline communities.*

Z

Zacharias, ii. 261.
Zechariah, i. 1.
Zeus, i. 246, 274.

Printed by T. and A. Constable, Printers to His Majesty
at the Edinburgh University Press

Cable and Telegraphic Address—
"LIBRORUM, LONDON"
Inland Telegrams—
"LIBRORUM, RAND, LONDON"
P.O. Telephones—
Nos. 2877 *CENTRAL and* 9570 *CITY*

A Catalogue of Williams & Norgate's Publications

LONDON
14 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, W.C.

CONTENTS

PAGES

ALPHABETICAL LIST IN ORDER OF AUTHORS' NAMES 1-33

LIST OF LIBRARIES AND SERIES ARRANGED IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER. 33-43

INDEX OF TITLES 44-49

A CATALOGUE OF WILLIAMS & NORGATE'S PUBLICATIONS

ADDIS (W. E., M.A.). **Hebrew Religion to the Establishment** of Judaism under Ezra. Crown 8vo, cloth. 4s. 6d. net. *See* Crown Theological Library, p. 34.

AINSWORTH DAVIS (J. R.) and **H. J. FLEURE**, B.Sc. Patella (the Common Limpet). With 4 Plates. 2s. 6d. net. *See* Liverpool Marine Biology Committee Memoirs, p. 39.

ALLIN (Rev. THOS.). **Universalism asserted as the Hope** of the Gospel on the Authority of Reason, the Fathers, and Holy Scripture. With a Preface by Edna Lyall, and a Letter from Canon Wilberforce. Crown 8vo, cloth. 2s. 6d. net.

ALVIELLA (Count GOBLET D'). **Lectures on the Origin** and the Growth of the Conception of God, as Illustrated by Anthropology and History. Translated by the Rev. P. H. Wicksteed. Hibbert Lectures, 1891. Cloth, Library Edition, 10s. 6d. Popular Edition, 3s. 6d.

ANDREWS (CHARLES M'LEAN, Ph.D., L.H.D.). **The** Colonial Period. F'cap. 8vo, cloth. 2s. 6d. net.

ANGLICAN LIBERALISM. By Twelve Churchmen. Rev. Hubert Handley, Prof. F. C. Burkitt, M.A., D.D., Rev. J. R. Wilkinson, M.A., Rev. C. R. Shaw Stewart, M.A., Rev. Hastings Rashdall, D.Litt., D.C.L., Prof. Percy Gardner, D.Litt., LL.D., Sir C. T. Dyke Acland, Rev. A. J. Carlyle, M.A., Rev. H. G. Woods, D.D., Rev. A. A. Caldcott, D.Litt., D.D., Rev. W. D. Morrison, LL.D., Rev. A. L. Lilley, M.A. Crown 8vo, cloth. 4s. 6d. net.

ASHWORTH (J. H., D.Sc.). **Arenicola (the Lug-Worm).** With 8 Plates. 4s. 6d. net. *See* Liverpool Marine Biology Committee Memoirs, p. 39.

AVEBURY (Lord, D.C.L., F.R.S.). **Prehistoric Times, as** Illustrated by Ancient Remains and the Manners and Customs of Modern Savages. 6th Edition, revised, with 239 Illustrations, a large number of which are specially prepared for this Edition. Demy 8vo, cloth, gilt tops. Cheap Popular Edition, 7s. 6d. net.

AVESTI, PAHLAVI, and ANCIENT PERSIAN STUDIES in Honour of the late Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Peshotanji Behramji Sanjana, M.A., Ph.D. Paper cover, 12s. 6d. net; cloth, 13s. 6d. net.

BACON (Professor B. W., LL.D., D.D.). **The Making of the** New Testament. F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 56 in the Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 38.

BACON (ROGER), the "Opus Majus" of. Edited, with Introduction and Analytical Table, by John Henry Bridges, Fellow of Royal College of Physicians, sometime Fellow of Oriel College. Complete in 3 vols., 31s. 6d.; Vol. III. sold separately, 7s. 6d.

BAILEY (JOHN, M.A.). Dr Johnson and his Circle. F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. Forming Vol. 64 in Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 38.

BALSILLIE (DAVID, M.A.). An Examination of Professor Bergson's Philosophy. Crown 8vo, cloth. 5s. net.

BARRETT (Sir W. F., F.R.S.). Psychical Research. F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 28 in the Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 37.

BARRY (WILLIAM, D.D.). The Papacy and Modern Times (1303–1870). F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 14 in the Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 37.

BAUR (F. C.). Church History of the First Three Centuries. Translated from the Third German Edition. Edited by Rev. Allan Menzies. 2 vols. 8vo, cloth. 12s.

—— **Paul, the Apostle of Jesus Christ, his Life and Work,** his Epistles and Doctrine. A Contribution to a Critical History of Primitive Christianity. Edited by Rev. Allan Menzies. 2nd Edition. 2 vols. 8vo, cloth. 12s.

BAYLEY (HAROLD). The Lost Language of Symbolism. With above 1400 Symbols. 2 Vols. Medium 8vo, cloth. 25s. net.

BEARD (Rev. Dr C.). Lectures on the Reformation of the Sixteenth Century in its Relation to Modern Thought and Knowledge. Hibbert Lectures, 1883. 8vo, cloth. 10s. 6d. Cheap Edition. 3rd Edition, 3s. 6d.

—— **The Universal Christ, and other Sermons.** Crown 8vo, cloth. 7s. 6d.

BEGBIE (HAROLD). *See* "Character and Life," p. 4.

BELLOC (HILAIRE, M.A.). The French Revolution. (With Maps.) F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 3 in the Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 37.

—— **Warfare in England.** (With Maps.) F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Vol. 51 in the Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 38.

BENEDICT (F. E., Ph.D.). Elementary Organic Analysis. Small 8vo. Pages vi + 82. 15 Illustrations. 4s. 6d. net.

BERGEY (D. G.). Handbook of Practical Hygiene. Small 8vo. Pages v + 164. 6s. 6d. net.

BEVAN (Rev. J. O., M.A., F.G.S.). The Genesis and Evolution of the Individual Soul scientifically Treated. Including also Problems relating to Science and Immortality. Crown 8vo, cloth. 2s. 6d. net.

BIBLE. Translated by Samuel Sharpe, being a Revision of the Authorised English Version. 6th Edition of the Old, 10th Edition of the New Testament. 8vo, roan. 5s.

BILTZ (HENRY). The Practical Methods of determining Molecular Weights. Translated by Jones. Small 8vo. Pages viii + 245. 44 Illustrations. 8s. 6d. net.

BLACKBURN (HELEN). Women's Suffrage. A Record of the Women's Suffrage Movement in the British Isles, with a Biographical Sketch of Miss Becker. With portraits. Crown 8vo, cloth. 6s.

BOÏELLE (JAS.). French Composition through Lord Macaulay's English. Edited, with Notes, Hints, and Introduction, by the late James Boïelle, B.A. (Univ. Gall.), Officier d'Académie, Senior French Master, Dulwich College, etc., etc. Crown 8vo, cloth. Vol. I. Frederick the Great. 3s. Vol. II. Warren Hastings. 3s. Vol. III. Lord Clive. 3s.

—— *See* Victor Hugo, "Les Misérables" and "Notre Dame."

BOLTON. History of the Thermometer. 12mo. 96 pages. 6 Illustrations. 4s. 6d. net.

BOUSSET (Prof. WILHELM). Jesus. Trans. by Janet Penrose Trevelyan, and ed. by Rev. W. D. Morrison, LL.D. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 14 in the Crown Theological Library; *see* p. 34.

BOUTROUX (EMILE). Education and Ethics. Authorised Translation by Fred. Rothwell. Crown 8vo, cloth. 5s. net.

BRADLEY (A. G.). Canada. F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 34 in the Home University Library; *see* list, p. 37.

BRAUNS (Dr REINHARD). The Mineral Kingdom. The author is the well-known Professor of Mineralogy in the University of Bonn. Translated with additions by L. J. Spencer, M.A., F.G.S., Assistant in the Mineral Department of the British Museum. In demy 4to, comprising 91 full-page plates beautifully executed in colours, 73 of which are chromo-lithographs, 18 photographic reproductions, and 275 figures in the text. Bound in half-morocco. £2, 16s. net.

BREMOND (HENRI). The Mystery of Newman. With Introduction by the late Rev. George Tyrrell, M.A. Medium 8vo, cloth. 10s. 6d. net.

BREWSTER (H. B.). The Theories of Anarchy and of Law. A Midnight Debate. Crown 8vo, parchment. 5s.

—— **The Prison.** A Dialogue. Crown 8vo, parchment. 5s.

—— **The Statuette and the Background.** Cr. 8vo, parchment. 4s.

BREWSTER (Prof. W. T.), Editor of the Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 37.

—— **The Writing of English.** F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 73 in Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 38.

BRUCE (ALEX., M.A., M.D., F.R.C.P.E.). A Topographical Atlas of the Spinal Cord. F'cap. folio, half-leather. £2, 2s. net.

BRUCE (Dr W. S., F.R.S.E.). Polar Exploration. (With Maps.) F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 8 in the Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 37.

BURKITT (Prof. F. C.). Euphemia and the Goth. With the Acts of Martyrdom of the Confessors of Edessa. 21s. net. *See* Text and Translation Society, p. 40.

BURY (Prof. J. B., Litt.D.). A History of Freedom of Thought. F'cap. 8vo, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 74 in Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 38.

CAMPBELL (Rev. COLIN, D.D.). The First Three Gospels in Greek. Arranged in parallel columns. 2nd Edition, Revised. Crown 8vo, cloth. 3s. 6d. net.

CARPENTER (Rt. Rev. W. BOYD). Some Pages of My Life. By the present Canon of Westminster and late Bishop of Ripon. With portrait of the author as frontispiece, and other interesting portraits. Medium 8vo, cloth, gilt top. 15s. net.

CARPENTER (Prof. J. E., LL.D.). Comparative Religion. F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 68 in Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 38.

CARTWRIGHT (Captain) and His Labrador Journal. Edited by Charles Wendell Townsend, M.D. With an Introduction by Dr Wilfred T. Grenfell. With Illustrations from old engravings, photographs and a map. Crown 8vo, cloth. 5s. net.

CECIL (Lord HUGH, M.A., M.P.). Conservatism. F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 11 in the Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 37.

CHADWICK (HERBERT CLIFTON). Antedon. With 7 Plates. 2s. 6d. net. *See* Liverpool Marine Biology Memoirs, p. 39.

—— **Echinus.** With 5 Plates. Price 2s. net. *See* Liverpool Marine Biology Memoirs, p. 39.

CHANNING'S COMPLETE WORKS. Including "The Perfect Life," with a Memoir. Centennial Ed. 4to Ed. Cloth. 7s. 6d.

CHAPMAN (Prof. S. J., M.A.). Elements of Political Economy. F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 59 in the Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 38.

CHARACTER AND LIFE: A Symposium. By Dr Alfred Russel Wallace, John A. Hobson, Harold Begbie, Walter Crane, and the late Dr Emil Reich. Arranged by Percy L. Parker, Editor of "Public Opinion." Crown 8vo, cloth. 3s. 6d. net.

CHESTERTON (G. K.). The Victorian Age in Literature. F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 70 in Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 38.

CHEYNE (Rev. T. K., D.Litt., D.D.). Bible Problems and the New Material for their Solution. A Plea for Thoroughness of Investigation, addressed to Churchmen and Scholars. Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d. net. *See* Crown Theological Library, p. 34.

CHILD AND RELIGION, THE. Essays. By Prof. Henry Jones, M.A., LL.D., University of Glasgow; C. F. G. Masterman, M.A.; Prof. George T. Ladd, D.D., LL.D.; Rev. F. R. Tennant, M.A., B.Sc.; Rev. J. Cynddylan Jones, D.D.; Rev. Canon Hensley Henson, M.A.; Rev. Robert F. Horton, M.A., D.D.; Rev. G. Hill, M.A., D.D.; Rev. J. J. Thornton; Rev. Rabbi A. A. Green; Prof. Joseph Agar Beet, D.D. Edited by Thomas Stephens, B.A. Crown 8vo. 5s. net. *See* Crown Theological Library, p. 34.

COIT (STANTON, Ph.D.). National Idealism and a State Church. Demy 8vo, cloth. 7s. 6d. net.

—— **National Idealism and the Book of Common Prayer.** An Essay in Re-Interpretation and Revision. Demy 8vo, cloth 10s. 6d. net.

COLBY (ALBERT LADD). Reinforced Concrete in Europe. Demy 8vo, cloth. 14s. 6d. net.

COLE (FRANK J.), and JAMES JOHNSTONE. Pleuronectes. With 11 Plates. 7s. net. *See* Liverpool Marine Biology Memoirs, p. 39.

COLLINS (F. H.). An Epitome of Synthetic Philosophy. With a Preface by Herbert Spencer. 5th Edition. The Synthetic Philosophy Completed. 8vo, cloth. Reduced to 5s. net.

CONYBEARE (F. C., M.A.). The Ring of Pope Xystus: a collection of Aphorisms and Short Sayings in use among Christian Communities in the Second Century. Beautifully printed on hand-made paper. 4s. 6d. net.

CORNILL (Prof. CARL). The Introduction to the Canonical Books of the Old Testament. Demy 8vo, cloth. 10s. 6d. net. *See* Theological Translation Library, p. 41.

CRANE (WALTER), contributor to "Character and Life," *see* p. 4.

CREIGHTON (Mrs). Missions: their Rise and Development. F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 60 in the Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 38.

CREIGHTON (CHAS., M.D.). Cancer and other Tumours of the Breast. Researches showing their true seat and cause. The Author was sometime Demonstrator of Anatomy, Cambridge Medical School, and is the author of "Bovine Tuberculosis in Man," etc. With 24 Lithographic Plates containing 138 figures from the Author's drawings. Royal 8vo, cloth. 12s. 6d. net.

—— **Contributions to the Physiological Theory of Tuberculosis.** Royal 8vo, cloth. 12s. 6d. net.

CUSSANS (MARGARET, B.Sc.). Gammarus. With 4 Plates. 2s. net. *See* Liverpool Marine Biology Memoirs, p. 39.

DAKIN (W. J., M.Sc.). Pecton. With 9 Plates. 4s. 6d. net. *See* Liverpool Marine Biology Memoirs, p. 39.

DARBISHIRE (OTTO V.). Chondrus. With 7 Plates. 2s. 6d. net. *See* Liverpool Marine Biology Memoirs, p. 39.

DAUDET (A.). Contes Militaires. 2s. 6d. *See* Army Series, p. 33.

DAVENPORT (CHARLES BENEDICT). Heredity in relation to Eugenics. The Author is Director, Department of Experimental Evolution, Cold Spring Harbour, Long Island, N.Y.; Secretary of the Eugenics Section American Breeders Association. With Diagrams and Coloured Plate. Demy 8vo, cloth. 8s. 6d. net.

DAVIDS (Mrs RHYS, M.A.). Buddhism. F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 47 in the Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 38.

DAVIDS (T. W. RHYS). Lectures on Some Points in the History of Indian Buddhism. The Hibbert Lectures, 1881. 2nd Ed. Demy 8vo, cloth. Library Ed., 10s. 6d. Cheap Ed., 3s. 6d.

DAVIS (H. W. C., M.A.). Mediæval Europe. (With Maps.) F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 13 in the Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 37.

DELBOS (L.). Nautical Terms in English and French and French and English. With Notes and Tables. For the use of Naval Officers and Naval Cadets. By Leon Delbos, M.A., of H.M.S. *Britannia*, Dartmouth. 4th Edition, thoroughly revised and considerably enlarged, with additional Plates. Crown 8vo, cloth, 7s. 6d. net.

—— **The Student's Graduated French Reader.** Remodelled and rewritten. Edited, with Notes and a Complete Vocabulary. First Year—Part I. Anecdotes, Tales, and Exercises. Part II. Tales, Historical Pieces, and Exercises. 1s. 6d. each. Second Year—Parts I. and II. in the Press.

DELITZSCH (Dr FRIEDRICH). Babel and Bible. Authorised Translation. Edited, with an Introduction, by Rev. C. H. W. Johns. Crown 8vo, with 77 Illustrations, cloth. 4s. 6d. net. *See* Crown Theological Library, p. 34.

DEWALL (JOHANNES V.). Auf Verlornem Posten and Nazzarena Danti. 3s. *See* Army Series, p. 33.

DIBBLEE (G. BINNEY). The Newspaper. F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 69 in the Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 38.

DICKSON (H. N., D.Sc.). Climate and Weather. F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 36 in Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 38.

DILLMANN (A.). Ethiopic Grammar. Trans. from C. Bezold's Second German Edition. By Rev. J. A. Crichton, D.D. With Index of Passages, Philological Tables, etc. 1 vol., royal 8vo. 25s. net.

DÎPAVAMSA (THE): A Buddhist Historical Record in the Pali Language. Edited, with an English Translation, by Dr H. Oldenberg. 8vo, cloth. 21s.

DOBSCHÜTZ (ERNST VON, D.D.). Christian Life in the Primitive Church. The Author is Professor of New Testament Theology in the University of Strassburg. Translated by Rev. G. Bremner, and edited by the Rev. W. D. Morrison, LL.D. Demy 8vo, cloth. 10s. 6d. *See* Theological Translation Library, New Series, p. 41.

DOLE (CHARLES F.). The Ethics of Progress, or the Theory and the Practice by which Civilisation proceeds. Small demy 8vo, cloth. 6s. net.

DRUMMOND (Dr JAMES, LL.D.). Philo Judæus; or, **The** Jewish Alexandrian Philosophy in its Development and Completion. 2 vols. 8vo, cloth. 21s.

—— **Via, Veritas, Vita.** Lectures on Christianity in its most Simple and Intelligible Form. Hibbert Lectures, 1894. Demy 8vo. Library Edition, 10s. 6d. Cheap Edition, 3s. 6d.

DUNCAN (DAVID, LL.D.). The Life and Letters of Herbert Spencer. With 17 Illustrations. Cheap Re-issue. 6s. net.

EMERY (F. B., M.A.). Elementary Chemistry. With numerous Illustrations. 8s. 6d. net.

ENGELHARDT (V.). The Electrolysis of Water. 8vo. Pages x + 140. 90 Illustrations. 5s. net.

ENGLAND AND GERMANY. By Leaders of Public Opinion in both Empires, among whom may be mentioned:—Rt. Hon. Arthur J. Balfour, Viscount Haldane of Cloan, Rt. Hon. A. Bonar Law, Baron Alfred von Rothschild, Rt. Hon. Herbert Samuel, Sir Rufus Isaacs, Norman Angell, J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., J. A. Spender, Excell. Karl Galster, Ernst Basserman, Professor Dr Riesser, Baron Wilhelm von Pechmann, Professor Wilhelm Wundt, Dr Walther Rathenau, August Thyssen, sen., His Excellency Dr Adolf Wermuth, Excell. von Holleben, etc. With Portraits. Stiff Wrapper. 1s. net.

ERMAN'S EGYPTIAN GRAMMAR. Translated, under Professor Erman's supervision, by J. H. Breasted, Professor of Egyptology in the University of Chicago. Crown 8vo, cloth. 18s.

ERSKINE (Prof. J.) and Prof. W. P. TRENT. Great Writers of America. F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 52 in the Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 38.

EUCKEN (Dr RUDOLF, Jena). The Life of the Spirit. An Introduction to Philosophy. Second Edition. Third Impression. 8vo, cloth. 4s. 6d. net. *See* Crown Theological Library, p. 35.

—— **The Truth of Religion.** Translated from the latest revised German edition by Rev. W. Tudor Jones, Ph.D., with a special preface by the Author. Demy 8vo, cloth. 12s. 6d. net. *See* Theological Translation Library, New Series, p. 41.

EUGÈNE-FASNACHT (G.). Eugène's Student's Comparative Grammar of the French Language, with an Historical Sketch of the Formation of French. The Author was for many years French Master, Westminster School. For the use of Public Schools. With Exercises. 23rd Edition, thoroughly revised. Square crown 8vo, cloth, 5s.; or separately, Grammar, 3s.; Exercises, 2s. 6d.

—— **French Method.** Elementary French Lessons preparatory to the same Author's Grammar. 18th Edition. Cloth. 1s. 6d.

EVANS (GEORGE). An Essay on Assyriology. With 4to Tables of Assyrian Inscriptions. 8vo, cloth. 5s.

EWALD'S (Dr H.) Commentary on the Prophets of the Old Testament. Translated by the Rev. J. F. Smith. [Vol. I. General Introduction, Yoel, Amos, Hosea, and Zakharya 9–11. Vol. II. Yesaya, Obadya, and Mikah. Vol. III. Nahûm, Ssephanya, Habaqqûq, Zakhârya, Yéremya. Vol. IV. Hezekiel, Yesaya xl.–lxvi. Vol. V. Haggai, Zakharya, Malaki, Jona, Baruc, Daniel, Appendix and Index.] 5 vols. 8vo, cloth. 30s. *See* Theological Translation Library, Old Series, p. 42.

—— **Commentary on the Psalms.** Translated by the Rev. E. Johnson, M.A. 2 vols. 8vo, cloth. 12s.

—— **Commentary on the Book of Job,** with Translation. Trans. from the German by the Rev. J. Frederick Smith. 8vo, cloth. 6s.

FAGUET (Prof. EMILE, of the French Academy). **Initiation** into Philosophy. Translated by Sir Home Gordon, Bart. Crown 8vo, cloth. 2s. 6d. net.

FARMER (Prof. J. B.). Plant Life. (Illustrated.) F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 72 in Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 38.

FARNELL (L. R., D.Litt.). **The Evolution of Religion: an** Anthropological Study. Crown 8vo, cloth. 4s. 6d. net. *See* Crown Theological Library, p. 34.

—— **The Higher Aspects of Greek Religion.** Lectures delivered in Oxford and London. Being Vol. 1 of New Series of Hibbert Lectures. Demy 8vo, cloth. 6s. net. *See* Hibbert Lectures, p. 36.

FARQUHARSON (Rt. Hon. ROBERT, LL.D.). **The House of** Commons from Within, and other Reminiscences. Med. 8vo. With Portrait by J. S. Sargent, R.A., never before published. 7s. 6d. net.

—— **In and Out of Parliament.** With a number of portraits and caricatures. Medium 8vo, cloth. 12s. 6d. net.

FARRIE (HUGH). Highways and Byways in Literature. A volume of original Studies. Demy 8vo, cloth. 5s. net.

FINDLAY (Prof. J. J., M.A., Ph.D.). **The School.** An Introduction to the Study of Education. F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 38 in the Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 38.

FISCHER (Prof. EMIL, of Berlin University). **Introduction** to the Preparation of Organic Compounds. Translated with the Author's sanction from the new German edition by R. V. Stanford, B.Sc., Ph.D. With figures in the text. Crown 8vo, cloth. 4s. net.

FISHER (HERBERT, M.A., F.B.A., LL.D.), Editor, Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 37.

—— **Napoleon.** (With Maps.) F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 61 in Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 38.

FOUR GOSPELS (THE) AS HISTORICAL RECORDS. 8vo, cloth. 15s.

FOWLER (W. WARDE, M.A.). **Rome.** F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 42 in the Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 38.

FOX (FRANK), Author of "Ramparts of Empire," etc. **Problems** of the Pacific. Demy 8vo, cloth. With Map. 7s. 6d. net.

FRY (The Rt. Hon. Sir EDWARD, G.C.B., etc.). **Some Intimations of Immortality.** From the Physical and Psychical Nature of Man. Royal 8vo, sewed. 1s. net.

GAMBLE (Prof. F. W., D.Sc., F.R.S.). **The Animal World.** With Introduction by Sir Oliver Lodge. Many Illustrations. F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 19 in the Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 37.

GARDNER (Prof. PERCY, D.Litt., F.B.A., Oxford). **Modernity** and the Churches. 4s. 6d. net. *See* Crown Theological Library, p. 35.

—— **The Religious Experience of St Paul.** Crown 8vo, cloth. 5s. net. *See* Crown Theological Library, p. 35.

GELDART (W. M., M.A., B.C.L.). **Elements of English Law.** F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 30 in the Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 37.

GIBBS (PHILIP). The Eighth Year. The Dangerous Year of Marriage. Crown 8vo, cloth. 2s. net.

GIBSON (R. J. H.) and **HELEN P. AULD,** B.Sc. **Codium.** With 3 Plates. Price 1s. 6d. net. *See* Liverpool Marine Biology Memoirs, p. 39.

GILES (H. A., LL.D.). **The Civilisation of China.** By the well-known Professor of Chinese in the University of Cambridge. F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 25 in the Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 37.

GILL (CHARLES). The Book of Enoch the Prophet. Trans. from an Ethiopic MS. in the Bodleian Library, by the late Richard Laurence, LL.D., Archbishop of Cashel. The Text corrected from his latest Notes by Charles Gill. Re-issue, 8vo, cloth. 5s.

GIVEN (JOHN L.). Making a Newspaper. Cloth, above 300 pages. 6s. net.

GOLDAMMER (H.). The Kindergarten. A Guide to Fröbel's Method of Education. 2 vols. in 1. 120 pp. of Illustrations. 8vo, cloth. 10s. 6d.

GOOCH (G. P., M.A.). **The History of our Time, 1885–1911.** F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 23 in the Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 37.

GOULD (F. J.). Noble Pages from German History. Crown 8vo, cloth. Illustrated. 1s. 6d. net.

GRAVELY (F. H., M.Sc.). Polychaet Larvæ. With 4 plates. 2s. 6d. net. *See* Liverpool Marine Biology Committee Memoirs, p. 39.

GRAY (Rev. H. B., D.D.). The Public Schools and the Empire. A plea for higher education in citizenship. Cloth. 6s. net.

GREEN (Rt. Rev. A. V., D.D., Bishop of Ballarat). The Ephesian Canonical Writings: Being the Moorhouse Lectures for 1910. Crown 8vo, cloth. 5s. net.

GREEN (Mrs J. R.). Irish Nationality. F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 6 in the Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 37.

GREGORY (Prof. J. W., F.R.S.). The Making of the Earth. (With 38 Maps and Figures.) F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 53 in the Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 38.

GRIEBEN'S ENGLISH GUIDES. Practical and handy; size, suitable for the pocket, $6\frac{1}{4} + 4\frac{1}{4}$, and bound in cloth.

Switzerland. A practical guide with seven Maps. Cloth. 3s. net.

Norway and Copenhagen. With six Maps. Cloth. 3s. net.

Ostend and other Belgium Watering Places. With two Maps. Cloth. 1s. 6d. net.

Lakes of Northern Italy. With Maps. Cloth. 3s. net.

The Rhine. With Maps. Cloth. 3s. net.

North Sea Watering Places. Cloth. 3s. net.

Belgium. With Maps. Cloth. 3s. net.

Brussels and Antwerp. With Maps. Cloth. 1s. 6d. net.

Holland. With Maps. Cloth. 3s. net.

The Riviera. With Maps. Cloth. 3s. net.

Winter Sports in Switzerland. A practical guide for those visiting Switzerland in the winter. With Map. Cloth. 3s. net.

Dresden and Environs. With Maps. Cloth. 1s. 6d. net.

Munich and Environs. With Maps. Cloth. 1s. 6d. net.

Nuremberg and Rothenburg on the Tauber. With 2 Maps. 1s. 6d. net.

The Dolomites. With 3 Maps. 3s. net.

Naples and Capri. With 7 Maps and 3 Ground Plans. 1s.6d.net.

GUPPY (H. B., M.B., F.R.S.E.). Studies in Seeds and Fruits. An Investigation with the Balance. Demy 8vo, cloth, nearly 600 pp. 15s. net.

HAERING (Prof. THEODOR). Ethics of the Christian Life. Translated by Rev. J. S. Hill, B.D., and edited by Rev. W. D. Morrison. Demy 8vo, cloth. 10s. 6d. net. *See* Theological Translation Library, New Series, p. 41.

HALLIGAN (JAMES EDWARD, Chemist in charge Louisiana State Experiment Station). Soil Fertility and Fertilisers. With Illustrations and Tables. Demy 8vo, cloth. 14s. 6d. net.

HANNAY (DAVID). The Navy and Sea Power. F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 66 in Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 38.

HANTZSCH (A.). Elements of Stereochemistry. Translated by Wolf. 12mo. Pages viii + 206. 26 Figures. 6s. 6d. net.

HARDY. Elements of Analytical Geometry. 8vo. Pages iv + 365. 163 Figures. 8s. 6d. net.

—— **Infinitesimals and Limits.** Sm. 12mo, paper. 22 pp. 6 Figs. 1s. net.

HARNACK (ADOLF, D.D.). The Acts of the Apostles. Being Vol. III. of Dr Harnack's New Testament Studies. Crown 8vo, cloth. 5s. net. Vol. 26 in the Crown Theological Library; for list, *see* p. 35.

—— **Bible Reading in the Early Church.** Forming Vol. V. of New Testament Studies. 5s. net. *See* Crown Theological Library, p. 35.

—— **The Constitution and Law of the Church in the First** Two Centuries. Crown 8vo, cloth. 5s. net. Vol. 31 in the Crown Theological Library, p. 35.

—— **The Date of the Acts and of the Synoptic Gospels.** Cr. 8vo, cloth. 5s. net. Forming Vol. IV. in Dr Harnack's New Testament Studies, and Vol. 33 in the Crown Theological Library, p. 35.

—— **History of Dogma.** Translated from the Third German Edition. Edited by the late Rev. Prof. A. B. Bruce, D.D. 7 vols. 8vo, cloth, each 10s. 6d.; half-leather, suitable for presentation, 12s. 6d. *See* Theological Translation Library, New Series, p. 40.

—— **Letter to the "Preussische Jahrbücher" on the German** Emperor's Criticism of Prof. Delitzsch's Lectures on "Babel and Bible." Translated into English by Thomas Bailey Saunders. 6d. net.

—— **Luke, the Physician.** Translated by the Rev. J. R. Wilkinson, M.A. Being Vol. I. of Dr Harnack's New Testament Studies. Crown 8vo, cloth. 5s. net. *See* Crown Theological Library, p. 34.

—— **The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First** Three Centuries. Second, revised and much enlarged Edition. 25s. net. Forming Vols. 19 and 20 in Theological Translation Library, New Series; *see* p. 41.

—— **Monasticism: Its Ideals and History; and The Confes-** sions of St Augustine. Two Lectures. Translated into English by E. E. Kellet, M.A., and F. H. Marseille, Ph.D. Crown 8vo, cloth. 3s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 28 in the Crown Theological Library, p. 35.

—— **The Sayings of Jesus.** Being Vol. II. of Dr Harnack's New Testament Studies. Crown 8vo, cloth. 5s. net. Forming Vol. 23 in the Crown Theological Library, p. 35.

—— **What is Christianity?** Translated by Thomas Bailey Saunders. Third and Revised Edition. Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 5 in the Crown Theological Library, p. 34.

—— and **Prof. W. HERRMANN,** of Marburg. **Essays on the** Social Gospel. Crown 8vo, cloth. 4s. net. Forming Vol. 18 in the Crown Theological Library, p. 34.

HARNACK (AXEL). Introduction to the Elements of the Differential and Integral Calculus. From the German. Royal 8vo, cloth. 10s. 6d.

HARRISON (JANE, LL.D., D.Litt.). Ancient Art and Ritual. F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 75 in Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 38.

HART (EDW., Ph.D.). Chemistry for Beginners. Small 12mo.
Vol. I. **Inorganic.** Pages viii + 188. 55 Illustrations and 2 Plates. 4th Edition. 4s. 6d. net.
Vol. II. **Organic.** Pages iv + 98. 11 Illustrations. 2s. net.
Vol. III. **Experiments.** Separately. 60 pages. 1s. net.

—— **Second Year Chemistry.** Sm. 12mo. 165 pp. 31 Illus. 5s. net.

HATCH (Rev. Dr). Lectures on the Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church. Edited by Dr Fairbairn. Hibbert Lectures, 1888. 3rd Edition. 8vo, cloth. 10s. 6d Cheap Edition, 3s. 6d.

HAUSRATH (Prof. A.). History of the New Testament Times. The Time of the Apostles. Translated by Leonard Huxley. With a Preface by Mrs Humphry Ward. 4 vols. 8vo, cloth. 42s. (Uniform with the Theological Translation Library, Old Series.)

—— **History of the New Testament Times. The Time of** Jesus. Trans. by the Revs. C. T. Poynting and P. Quenzer. 2 vols. 8vo, cloth. 12s. *See* Theological Translation Library, Old Series, p. 42.

HAWORTH (PAUL LELAND). Reconstruction and Union 1865–1912. F'cap. 8vo, cloth. 2s. 6d. net.

HEATH (FRANCIS GEORGE). Nervation of Plants. By the well-known Author of "Our Woodland Trees," "The Fern World," etc. Well Illustrated. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.

HEBREW TEXTS, in large type for Classes: Genesis. 2nd Edition. 16mo, cloth. 1s. 6d. Psalms. 16mo, cloth. 1s. Isaiah. 16mo, cloth. 1s. Job. 16mo, cloth. 1s.

HENSLOW (Rev. G.). The Vulgate; The Source of False Doctrine. Crown 8vo, cloth. 2s. 6d. net.

HERDMAN (W. A.). Ascidia. With 5 Plates. 2s. net. *See* Liverpool Marine Biology Committee Memoirs, p. 39.

HERFORD (Rev. R. TRAVERS). Christianity in Talmud and Midrash. Demy 8vo, cloth. 18s. net.

—— **Pharisaism: Its Aims and its Methods.** Crown 8vo, cloth. 5s. net. Forming Vol. 35 in the Crown Theological Library, p. 35.

HERRMANN (Prof. WILHELM). The Communion of the Christian with God. Trans. from the new German Ed. by Rev. J. S. Stanyon, M.A., and Rev. R. W. Stewart, B.D., B.Sc. Cr. 8vo, cloth. 4s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 15 in Crown Theological Library, p. 34.

—— **Faith and Morals.** New Edition. Crown 8vo, cloth. 4s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 6 in the Crown Theological Library, p. 34.

HEWITT (C. GORDON, B.Sc.). Ligia. With 4 Plates. 2s. net. *See* Liverpool Marine Biology Memoirs, p. 39.

HIBBERT JOURNAL: A Quarterly Review of Religion, Theology, and Philosophy. Edited by L. P. Jacks and G. Dawes Hicks. In quarterly issues, 2s. 6d. net; or yearly volumes bound in cloth, 12s. 6d. net. Annual Subscription, 10s. post free.

HIBBERT JOURNAL SUPPLEMENT, 1909, entitled JESUS OR CHRIST? Containing 18 Essays by leading Theologians and Thinkers. Super royal 8vo, cloth. 5s. net.

HICKSON (SYDNEY J., D.Sc., F.R.S.). Alcyonium. With 3 Plates. Price 1s. 6d. net. *See* Liverpool Marine Biology Committee Memoirs, p. 39.

HINKS (A. R., M.A.). Astronomy. F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 31 in the Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 37.

HIRST (F. W., M.A.). The Stock Exchange. F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 5 in the Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 37.

HOBHOUSE (Prof. L. T., M.A.). Liberalism. F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 21 in the Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 37.

HOBSON (J. A., M.A.). The Science of Wealth. F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 16 in the Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 37.

—— Character and Life. *See* p. 4.

HÖFER (E.). Erzählungen. 3s. *See* Army Series of French and German Novels, p. 33.

HOFF (J. H. VAN'T). Studies in Chemical Dynamics. Revised and enlarged by Dr Ernst Cohen, Assistant in the Chemical Laboratory of the University of Amsterdam. Translated by Thomas Ewan, M.Sc., Ph.D., Demonstrator of Chemistry in the Yorkshire College, Leeds. Royal 8vo, cloth. 10s. 6d.

HOLDERNESS (Sir T. W., K.C.S.I.). Peoples and Problems of India. The Author is Secretary of the Revenue, Statistics, and Commerce Department of the India Office. F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 37 in the Home University Library; *see* p. 38.

HOLLINS (DOROTHEA). The Quest. A Romance of Deliverance. Demy 8vo, cloth. 4s. 6d. net.

HOME UNIVERSITY LIBRARY OF MODERN KNOWLEDGE. Every volume is specially written for this Library by a recognised authority of high standing. Each volume is complete and independent, but the series has been planned as a whole to form a comprehensive library of modern knowledge. The Library is published under the direction of Professor Gilbert Murray and Mr Herbert Fisher of Oxford, Professor J. Arthur Thomson of Aberdeen, and Professor William T. Brewster of New York. Each volume consists of 256 pages and is issued bound in cloth at 1s. net, or in leather, 2s. 6d. net. For list of volumes, *see* p. 37.

HORNELL (JAMES, F.L.S.). **Report to the Government of** Baroda on the Marine Zoology of Okhamandal in Kattiawar. With Supplementary Reports on Special Groups by other Zoologists. Demy 4to, cloth, with full-page Plates. Part I. 15s. net.

HOWE (J. L., Washington and Lee University). **Inorganic** Chemistry for Schools and Colleges. Being a Second Edition of "Inorganic Chemistry according to the Periodic Law." By F. P. Venable and J. L. Howe. Demy 8vo, cloth. 12s. 6d. net.

HUGO (VICTOR). Les Misérables: Les Principaux. Episodes. Edited, with Life and Notes, by the late J. Boïelle. 2 vols. 6th Edition. Crown 8vo, cloth. Each 3s.

—— **Notre Dame de Paris.** Adapted for the use of Schools and Colleges. By the late J. Boïelle. 2 vols. 2nd Edition. Crown 8vo, cloth. Each 3s.

HUNTER (Rev. J., D.D.). **De Profundis Clamavi, and** Other Sermons. Large crown 8vo, cloth. 5s. net.

—— **God and Life.** A Series of Discourses. Uniform with "De Profundis Clamavi." Cloth. 5s. net.

—— **The Coming Church.** A Plea for a Church simply Christian. Cloth. 1s. 6d. net.

ILBERT (Sir C. P., K.C.B.). **Parliament: its History, Con**stitution, and Practice. F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 1 in Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 37.

IMMS (A. D., B.Sc. Lond.). **Anurida.** With 7 Plates. 4s. net. *See* Liverpool Marine Biology Memoirs, p. 39.

ISGROVE (ANNIE, M.Sc.). **Eledone.** With 10 Plates. 4s. 6d. net. *See* Liverpool Marine Biology Memoirs, p. 39.

JACKS (L. P.), Editor of the Hibbert Journal. **Mad Shepherds** and Other Human Studies. With a frontispiece drawing by Leslie Brooke. Crown 8vo, cloth. 4s. 6d. net.

—— **Among the Idolmakers.** Crown 8vo, cloth. 5s. net.

—— **The Alchemy of Thought, and Other Essays.** Demy 8vo, cloth. 10s. 6d. net.

JEREMIAS (Prof. ALFRED). The Old Testament in the Light of the Ancient East. The Translation is edited by Professor C. H. W. Johns of Cambridge. With a large number of Illustrations. In two volumes, demy 8vo, at 25s. net. *See* Theological Translation Library, New Series, p. 41.

JOHNSTON (Sir H. H., K.C.B., D.Sc.). **The Opening-up of** Africa. (With Maps.) F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 12 in the Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 37.

—— Views and Reviews. Essays on Racial, Political, and Colonial Questions. Crown 8vo, cloth. 3s. 6d. net.

JOHNSTONE (J.). British Fisheries: Their Administration and their Problems. A short account of the Origin and Growth of British Sea Fishery Authorities and Regulations. 10s. 6d. net.

JOHNSTONE (J.). Cardium. With 7 Plates. Price 2s. 6d. net. *See* Liverpool Marine Biology Memoirs, p. 39.

JONES. The Freezing Point, Boiling Point, and Conductivity Methods. 12mo. Pages vii + 64. 14 Illustrations. 3s. net.

JONES (J. T. SHARE-). Surgical Anatomy of the Horse. To be completed in 4 Parts. With above 100 Illustrations, a number being in colour. Part I. Head and Neck. Part II. Fore Limb. Part III. Hind Limb. Price per part, 15s. net, sewed; cloth, 16s. 6d. net.

—— **Life-size Models Illustrating the Superficial Anatomy of** the Limbs of the Horse. Price per set of four models, £21; or separately—Fore Limb, Inner and Outer Aspects, £6, 16s. 6d. each; Hind Limb, Inner and Outer Aspects, £6, 6s. each.

JONES (Rev. R. CROMPTON). Hymns of Duty and Faith. Selected and Arranged. 247 pp. F'cap. 8vo, cloth. 2nd Edition. 3s. 6d.

—— **Chants, Psalms, and Canticles.** Selected and Pointed for Chanting. 18mo, cloth. 1s. 6d.

—— **Anthems.** With Indexes and References to the Music. 18mo, cloth. 1s. 3d.

—— **The Chants and Anthems.** Together in 1 vol. Cloth. 2s.

—— **A Book of Prayer.** In Thirty Orders of Worship, with Additional Prayers and Thanksgivings. 18mo, cloth. 2s. 6d. With Chants, in 1 vol. 18mo, cloth. 3s.

JONES (Rev. W. TUDOR, Ph.D.). An Interpretation of Rudolf Eucken's Philosophy. Crown 8vo. 5s. net.

JORDAN (HUMFREY, R., B.A.). Blaise Pascal. A Study in Religious Psychology. Crown 8vo, cloth. 4s. 6d. net.

JOURNAL OF THE LINNEAN SOCIETY. Botany. At various prices. Index to Journal (Botany), 20s. Zoology. At various prices. General Index to the first 20 vols. of the Journal (Zoology) and the Zoological portion of the Proceedings, 20s.

JOURNAL OF THE QUEKETT MICROSCOPICAL CLUB. Nos. 1–26, 1s. net; Nos. 27–31, 2s. 6d. net. 1893, No. 32, and following Nos., half-yearly, 3s. 6d. net.

JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL MICROSCOPICAL SOCIETY, containing its Transactions and Proceedings, with other Microscopical information. Bi-monthly. Previous to 1893 at various prices; after that date bi-monthly, each 6s. net.

KAPP (GISBERT, D. Eng., M.I.E.E., M.I.C.E.). Electricity. The Author is Professor of Electrical Engineering in the University of Birmingham. (Illustrated.) F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 58 in the Home University Library; *see* p. 38.

KAUFFMAN (RUTH and R. W.). The Latter Day Saints: A Study of the Mormons in the Light of Economic Conditions. Medium 8vo, cloth. 10s. 6d. net.

KAUTZSCH (E., Professor at Halle). **An Outline of the History** of the Literature of the Old Testament. With Chronological Tables for the History of the Israelites, and other Aids to the Explanation of the Old Testament. Reprinted from the "Supplement to the Translation of the Old Testament." Edited by the Author. Translated by John Taylor, D. Litt., M.A., etc. Demy 8vo, cloth. 6s. 6d.

KEIM'S History of Jesus of Nazara. Considered in its connection with the National Life of Israel, and related in detail. Translated from the German by Arthur Ransom and the Rev. E. M. Geldart. In 6 vols. Demy 8vo, cloth. 6s. each. *See* Theological Translation Fund Library, p. 42.

KEITH (A., M.D., LL.D.). **The Human Body.** The Author is Conservator of Museum and Hunterian Professor, Royal College of Surgeons. (Illustrated.) F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 57, Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 38.

KENNEDY (Rev. JAS.). **Introduction to Biblical Hebrew,** presenting Graduated Instruction in the Language of the Old Testament. 8vo, cloth. 12s.

—— **Studies in Hebrew Synonyms.** Demy 8vo, cloth. 5s.

KER (Prof. W. P., M.A.). **English Literature: Mediæval.** F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 43 in the Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 38.

KIEPERT'S Wall-Maps of the Ancient World—

Wall-Map of Ancient Italy. Italia antiqua. For the study of Livy, Sallust, Cicero, Dionysius, etc. Scale 1 : 800,000. Mounted on rollers, varnished. 20s.

General Wall-Map of the Old World. Tabula orbis terrarum antiqui ad illustrandum potissimum antiquissimi ævi usque ad Alexandrum M. historiam. For the study of ancient history, especially the history of the Oriental peoples: the Indians, Medes, Persians, Babylonians, Assyrians, Egyptians, Phœnicians, etc. Scale 1 : 5,400,000. Mounted on rollers, varnished. 20s.

General Wall-Map of the Roman Empire. Imperii Romani tabula geographica. For the study of the development of the Roman Empire. Scale 1 : 300,000. Mounted on rollers, varnished. 24s.

Wall-Map of Ancient Latium. Latii Veteris et finitimarum regionum tabula. For the study of Livy, Dionysius, etc. Scale 1 : 125,000. With supplement: Environs of Rome. Scale 1 : 25,000. Mounted on rollers, varnished. 18s.

Wall-Map of Ancient Greece. Græciæ Antiquæ tabula. For the study of Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Strabo, Cornelius Nepos, etc. Scale 1 : 500,000. Mounted on rollers, varnished. 24s.

Wall-Map of the Empires of the Persians and of Alexander the Great. Imperia Persarum et Macedonum. For the study of Herodotus, Xenophon, Justinian, Arian, Curtius. Scale 1 : 300,000. Mounted on rollers and varnished. 20s.

KIEPERT'S Wall-Maps of the Ancient World—*continued.*

Wall-Map of Gaul, with Portions of Ancient Britain and Ancient Germany. Galliæ Cisalpinæ et Transalpinæ cum partibus Britanniæ et Germaniæ tabula. For the study of Cæsar, Justinian, Livy, Tacitus, etc. Scale 1 : 1,000,000. Mounted on rollers and varnished. 24s.

Wall-Map of Ancient Asia Minor. Asiæ Minoris Antiquæ tabula. For the study of Herodotus, Xenophon, Justinian, Arian, Curtius, etc. Scale 1 : 800,000. Mounted on rollers and varnished. 20s.

—— **New Atlas Antiquus.** Twelve Maps of the Ancient World, for Schools and Colleges. Third hundred thousand. 12th Edition, with a complete Geographical Index. Folio, boards. 6s. Strongly bound in cloth. 7s. 6d.

KING, THE, TO HIS PEOPLE. Being the Speeches and Messages of His Majesty George V. as Prince and Sovereign. Published by permission. Square 8vo, art canvas. 5s. net.

KITTEL (Dr RUDOLF, of Breslau). A History of the Hebrews. In 2 vols. 8vo, cloth. Each vol., 10s. 6d. Forming Vols. 3 and 6 of the Theological Translation Library, New Series; for list, *see* p. 41.

—— **The Scientific Study of the Old Testament:** Its Principal Results, and their Bearing upon Religious Instruction. Illus. 5s. net. Forming Vol. 32 in Crown Theological Library; for list, *see* p. 35.

KUENEN (Dr A., of Leiden). The Religion of Israel to the Fall of the Jewish State. Translated from the Dutch by A. H. May. 3 vols. 8vo, cloth. 18s. *See* Theological Translation Fund Library, p. 42.

KYRIAKIDES (A.). Modern Greek-English Dictionary. With a Cypriote Vocabulary. 2nd Edition, revised throughout. Medium 8vo. 920 pages. Cloth. 15s. net.

—— **A Modern Greek-English and English-Modern Greek** Pocket Dictionary. In 2 vols., about 650 pp. each. 7s. net each vol.

LAKE (KIRSOPP). The Historical Evidence for the Resur- rection of Jesus Christ. The Author is Professor of New Testament Exegesis in the University of Leiden, Holland. Crown 8vo, cloth. 4s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 21 in the Crown Theological Library; *see* p. 34.

LANDOLT (Dr HANS). The Optical Rotating Power of Organic Substances and its Practical Applications. 8vo. Pages xxi + 751. 83 Illustrations. 31s. 6d. net.

LAURIE (Prof. SIMON). Ethica: or, The Ethics of Reason. By Scotus Novanticus. 2nd Edition. 8vo, cloth. 6s.

—— **Metaphysica Nova et Vetusta: A Return to Dualism.** 2nd Edition. Crown 8vo, cloth. 6s.

LEA (HENRY CHARLES, LL.D.). History of Sacerdotal Celibacy in the Christian Church. 3rd Edition. Thoroughly Revised and Reset. 2 vols. Medium 8vo, cloth. 21s. net.

LEAVENWORTH (Prof. W. S., M.Sc.). Inorganic Qualitative Chemical Analysis for Advanced Schools and Colleges. 8vo. Pages vi + 154. 6s. 6d. net.

LEBLANC (Dr MAX). The Production of Chromium and its Compounds by the Aid of the Electric Current. Demy 8vo, cloth. 5s. net.

LEIPOLDT (C. LOUIS, F.R.C.S. Eng.). Common-sense Dietetics. Strongly bound in Cloth. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.

LE ROY (EDOUARD). A New Philosophy: Henri Bergson. Translated by Vincent Benson, M.A. Crown 8vo, cloth. 5s. net.

LETHABY (Prof. W. R.). Architecture. Over 40 Illustrations. F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 39 in the Home University Library; for list, *see* page 38.

LEWIS (AGNES SMITH), Edited by. Old Syriac Gospels, or Evangelion Da-Mepharreshe. This is the Text of the Sinai Palimpsest, including the latest additions and emendations, with the variants of the Curetonian Text, corroborations from many other MSS., and a list of quotations from ancient authors. With 4 facsimiles. Quarto, bound half-leather. 25s. net.

LLURIA (Dr ENRIQUE). Super-Organic Evolution. Nature and the Social Problem. With a Preface by Dr D. Santiago Ramon y Cajal. Large Crown 8vo. Illustrated. 7s. 6d. net.

LOBSTEIN (PAUL). The Virgin Birth of Christ: An Historical and Critical Essay. The Author is Professor of Dogmatics in the University of Strassburg. Translated by Victor Leuliette, A.K.C., B.-ès-L., Paris. Edited, with an Introduction, by Rev. W. D. Morrison, LL.D. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 2 in the Crown Theological Library; for list, *see* p. 34.

LODGE (Sir O.). Life and Matter: An Exposition of Part of the Philosophy of Science, with Special References to the Influence of Professor Haeckel. Second Edition, with an Appendix of Definitions and Explanations. Crown 8vo, cloth. 2s. 6d. net. Popular Edition. Paper Cover. 6d. net.

—— **School Teaching and School Reform.** A Course of Four Lectures on School Curricula and Methods, delivered to Secondary Teachers and Teachers in Training at Birmingham. 3s.

LONDON LIBRARY (St James's Square), Catalogue of. xiv + 1626 pages. 4to, bound in buckram. 42s. net. Supplements I.–VIII., bound in buckram, 5s. each.

—— **Subject Index.** 4to, bound in buckram. xxxviii + 1256 pages. 31s. 6d. net.

LONG (J. H.). A Text-book of Urine Analysis. Small 8vo. Pages v + 249. 31 Illustrations. 6s. 6d. net.

LORIA (ACHILLE). Les Bases Economiques de la Justice Internationale. 4to. 3s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 2 of Publications de l'Institut Nobel Norvégien.

LYALL (Sir C. J., M.A., K.C.I.E.). **Ancient Arabian Poetry,** chiefly Præ-Islamic. Translations, with an Introduction and Notes. F'cap. 4to, cloth. 10s. 6d.

MACAN (R. W.). **The Resurrection of Jesus Christ.** An Essay in Three Chapters. 8vo, cloth. 5s.

MACAULAY (THOMAS BABINGTON). **The Lays of** Ancient Rome. With 8 Illustrations faithfully reproduced in colours, and a number in black-and-white, from original drawings by Norman Ault. Small 4to, cloth. 6s. net.

MACCOLL (HUGH). **Man's Origin, Destiny, and Duty.** Crown 8vo, cloth. 4s. 6d. net.

MACDONALD (J. RAMSAY, M.P.). **The Socialist Move-**ment. F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Vol. 10 in the Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 37.

McDOUGALL (Prof. W., F.R.S., M.B.). **Psychology: the** Study of Behaviour. F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Vol. 49 in the Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 38.

MACFIE (RONALD C., M.A., M.B.). **Science, Matter, and** Immortality. Crown 8vo, cloth. 5s. net.

MACGREGOR (Prof. D. H., M.A.). **The Evolution of** Industry. F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Vol. 24 in the Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 37.

McKENDRICK (Prof. J. G., M.D.). **The Principles of** Physiology. F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Vol. 44 in the Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 38.

MACKENZIE (W. LESLIE, M.D.). **Health and Disease.** F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 17 in the Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 37.

MAIR (G. H., M.A.). **English Literature: Modern.** F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 27 in the Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 37.

MARETT (R. R., M.A., of Oxford). **Anthropology.** F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 41 in the Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 38.

MARGOLIOUTH (Prof. D. S., M.A., D.Litt.). **Mohamme-**danism. F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 15 in the Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 37.

MARKHAM (Sir CLEMENTS, K.C.B.). **Vocabularies of the** General Language of the Incas of Peru. Crown 8vo, cloth. 7s. 6d. net.

MARRINER (GEORGE R., F.R.M.S.). **The Kea: A New** Zealand Problem. With Illustrations. Demy 8vo, cloth. 7s. 6d. net.

MARTI (KARL, Professor of Old Testament Exegesis, Bern). **The** Religion of the Old Testament: Its Place among the Religions of the Nearer East. Crown 8vo, cloth, 4s. net. Forming Vol. 19 in the Crown Theological Library; for list, *see* p. 34.

MARTINEAU (Mrs ALICE). The Herbaceous Garden. Gives full particulars how to make and arrange hardy borders, and containing an alphabetical index of the most suitable plants. With a large number of illustrations and a frontispiece in colour. Demy 8vo, cloth. 7s. 6d. net.

MARTINEAU (Rev. Dr JAMES). The Relation between Ethics and Religion. An Address. 8vo, sewed. 1s.

—— **Modern Materialism: Its Attitude towards Theology.** A Critique and Defence. 8vo, sewed. 2s. 6d.

MASEFIELD (JOHN). Shakespeare. F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 2 in the Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 37.

MASON (W. P.). Notes on Qualitative Analysis. Sm. 12mo. 56 pp. 3s. 6d. net.

MEADE (RICHARD K., B.Sc.). Chemist's Pocket Manual. 16mo. Leather. Pocket Edition. Second Edition. 12s. 6d. net.

—— **Portland Cement: Its Composition, Raw Materials,** Manufacture, Testing, and Analysis. Second Edition. With 170 Illustrations. 20s. net.

MELDOLA (Prof. RAPHAEL, D.Sc., LL.D.). Chemistry. F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. Forming Vol. 67 in Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 38.

MELVILLE (HELEN and LEWIS). The Seasons. An Anthology in Prose and Verse. Forming an attractive volume, bound in art linen. 3s. 6d. net.

MERCER (Rt. Rev. J. EDWARD, D.D.). The Soul of Progress. Being the Moorhouse Lectures for 1907. Cr. 8vo, cloth. 6s.

MERCIER (Dr C. A., F.R.C.P.). Crime and Insanity. F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 22 in the Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 37.

MEREDITH (LEWIS B.). Rock Gardens. How to Make and Maintain them. With an Introduction by F. W. Moore, A.L.S., and an Alphabetical List of Plants suitable for the Rock Garden, with Notes on the aspect and soil they require. Demy 8vo, with Plates. 7s. 6d. net.

MERIMÉE (PROSPER). Le Coup de Pistolet, etc. 2s. 6d. *See* Army Series of French and German Novels, p. 33.

MILINDAPAÑHO, THE. Being Dialogues between King Milinda and the Buddhist Sage Nāgasena. The Pali Text, edited by V. Trenckner. Crown 8vo, sewed. 21s.

MITCHELL (Rev. A. F.). How to Teach the Bible. 2nd Edition, thoroughly revised and reset. Crown 8vo, cloth. 2s. 6d. net.

MITCHELL (Rev. C. W.). The Refutation of Mani, Marcion, and Bardaisan of St. Ephraim. 21s. net. *See* Text and Translation Society, p. 40.

MOISSON (HENRI). The Electric Furnace. 8vo. Pages x + 305. 41 Illustrations. 10s. 6d. net.

MONTEFIORE (C. G.). Origin and Growth of Religion as Illustrated by the Religion of the Ancient Hebrews. The Hibbert Lectures, 1892. 2nd Ed. 8vo, cloth. 10s. 6d. Cheap Ed., 3s. 6d.

MOORE (Prof. BENJAMIN). The Origin and Nature of Life. F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 62 in Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 38.

MOORE (G. E., M.A.). Ethics. The Author is Lecturer in Moral Science in Cambridge University. F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 54 in the Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 38.

MÜNSTERBERG (Prof. HUGO, of Harvard). **The Americans.** Translated by Edwin B. Holt, Ph.D., Instructor at Harvard University. Royal 8vo, cloth. 12s. 6d. net.

MURRAY (Prof. GILBERT, D.Litt., LL.D., F.B.A.), Editor of the Home University Library. For list, *see* p. 37.

MYRES (J. L., M.A., F.S.A.). The Dawn of History. The Author is Wykeham Professor of Ancient History, Oxford. F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 29 in the Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 37.

NAVILLE (EDOUARD, Ph.D., Litt.D.). **The Old Egyptian** Faith. Translated by Colin Campbell, M.A., D.D. Illustrated. 4s. 6d. net. Vol. 30 in Crown Theological Lib.; for list, *see* p. 35.

NESTLE (Prof. EBERHARD, of Maulbronn). **An Introduction** to the Textual Criticism of the Greek New Testament. Translated from the Second Edition, with Corrections and Additions by the Author, by William Edie, B.D., and edited, with a Preface, by Allan Menzies, D.D., Professor of Divinity and Biblical Criticism in the University of St Andrews. With eleven reproductions of Texts. Demy 8vo, 10s. 6d.; half-leather, 12s. 6d. Forming Vol. 13 in the Theological Translation Library, New Series, p. 41.

NEWBIGIN (Dr MARION). Modern Geography. Illustrated. F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 7 in the Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 37.

NEW HEBREW SCHOOL OF POETS OF THE SPANISH-ARABIAN EPOCH. Selected Texts with Introduction, Notes, and Dictionary. Edited by H. Brodey, Ph.D., Rabbi in Lachod (Bohemia), and K. Albrecht, Ph.D., Professor in Oldenburg (Grand Duchy). English Translation of the Introduction, etc., by Mrs Karl Albrecht. Cloth. 7s. 6d. net.

NIBELUNGENLIED. "The Fall of the Nibelungens," otherwise "The Book of Kriemhild." An English Translation by W. N. Lettsom. 5th Edition. 8vo, cloth. 5s.

NIKAIDO (Y., B.Sc., M.A.). Beet-Sugar Making and its Chemical Control. With a number of valuable Tables and Illustrations. Demy 8vo, cloth. 12s. 6d. net.

NISSENSON. The Arrangements of Electrolytic Laboratories. Demy 8vo. 52 Illustrations. 5s. net.

NOLDEKE (Prof. THEODOR). Compendious Syriac Grammar. With a Table of Characters by Julius Euting. Translated (with the sanction of the Author) from the Second and Improved German Edition by Rev. James A. Crichton, D.D. Royal 8vo. 18s. net.

—— **Delectus Veterum Carminum Arabicorum Glossarium** Confecit A. Muller. Crown 8vo, cloth. 7s. 6d.

NOYES (ARTHUR A., Ph.D.). Organic Chemistry for the Laboratory. Small 12mo. Pp. xii + 257. 22 Illus. 6s. 6d. net.

—— and **SAMUEL P. MULLIKEN, Ph.D. Laboratory** Experiments on Class Reactions and Identification of Organic Substances. 8vo. 81 pp. 2s. net.

O'GRADY (STANDISH H.). Silva Gadelica (I.–XXXI.). A Collection of Tales in Irish, with Extracts illustrating Persons and Places. Edited from MSS. and Translated. 2 vols. royal 8vo, cloth. 42s. Or separately, Vol. 1, Irish Text; and Vol. 2, Translation and Notes. Each Vol. 21s.

OORDT (J. F. VAN, B.A.). Cape Dutch. Phrases and Dialogues, with Translations, preceded by short Grammatical Notes. Crown 8vo, cloth. 2s. 6d. net.

ORTH (SAMUEL P., Ph.D.). Socialism and Democracy in Europe. Demy 8vo. 360 pages. Cloth. 6s. net.

OSTWALD (WILHELM). Natural Philosophy. Translated by Thomas Seltzer. Crown 8vo, cloth. 4s. net.

OTTO (Prof. RUDOLF). Naturalism and Religion. Translated by J. Arthur Thomson, Professor of Natural History in the University of Aberdeen, and Margaret R. Thomson. Edited with an Introduction by Rev. W. D. Morrison, LL.D. Crown 8vo. 5s. net. Forming Vol. 17 in the Crown Theological Library; *see* p. 34.

PARKER (PERCY L.), Editor of "Public Opinion." Character and Life. A Symposium. Containing contributions by Dr Alfred Russel Wallace, John A. Hobson, Walter Crane, Harold Begbie, and the late Dr Emil Reich. Crown 8vo, cloth. 3s. 6d. net.

PAXSON (Prof. F. L.). The American Civil War. With Maps. F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 48 in the Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 38.

PEARSON (JOSEPH, M.Sc.). Cancer. With 13 Plates. 6s. 6d. net. *See* Liverpool Marine Biology Memoirs, p. 39.

PEDDIE (R. A.). Printing at Brescia in the Fifteenth Century. A List of the Issues. 5s. net.

PERCIVAL (G. H.). The Incarnate Purpose. Essays on the Spiritual Unity of Life. Crown 8vo, cloth. 2s. 6d. net.

PEROWNE (J. T. W., M.A.), Editor of the Army Series of French and German Novels. For list, *see* p. 33.

PERRIS (G. H.). A Short History of War and Peace. F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 4 in the Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 37.

PETERS (JOHN P., D.D.). Early Hebrew Story. A Study of the Origin, the Value, and the Historical Background of the Legends of Israel. Crown 8vo, cloth. 4s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 7 in the Crown Theological Library; for list, *see* p. 34.

PETIT (ROBERT). How to Build an Aeroplane. Trans. from the French, with some additional matter, by Messrs T. O'B. Hubbard and J. H. Ledeboer. With nearly 100 Illustrations. Demy 8vo, cloth. 2s. 6d. net.

PFANHAUSER (Dr W.). Production of Metallic Objects Electrolytically. 5s. net.

PFLEIDERER (Dr O.). Lectures on the Influence of the Apostle Paul on the Development of Christianity. Translated by Rev. J. Frederick Smith. Being the Hibbert Lectures for 1885. Library Edition. Demy 8vo, cloth. 10s. 6d. Cheap Edition, cloth. 3s. 6d. *See* The Hibbert Lectures, p. 36.

—— **Paulinism: A Contribution to the History of Primitive** Christianity. 2 vols. Demy 8vo, cloth. 12s. *See* Theological Translation Library, Old Series, p. 42.

—— **Philosophy of Religion on the Basis of its History.** In 4 vols. Demy 8vo, cloth. 24s. *See* Theological Translation Library, Old Series, p. 42. [Vol. 2 quite out of print.]

—— **Primitive Christianity: Its Writings and Teachings in** their Historical Connections. 4 vols. 10s. 6d. net each. *See* Theological Translation Library, New Series, p. 41.

—— **The Early Christian Conception of Christ: Its Signifi-**cance and Value in the History of Religion. 3s. net. *See* Crown Theological Library, p. 34.

PHILLIPPS (V., B.A.). A Short Sketch of German Litera-ture for Schools. 2nd Edition, revised. Pott 8vo, cloth. 1s.

PHILLIPS (FRANCIS C.). Methods for the Analysis of Ores, Pig Iron, and Steel. 2nd Edition. 8vo. Pages viii + 170. 3 Illustrations. 4s. 6d. net.

PICTON (J. ALLANSON, M.A. Lond.). Man and the Bible. A Review of the Place of the Bible in Human History. Demy 8vo, cloth. 6s. net.

PIDDINGTON (HENRY). The Sailors' Horn-Book for the Law of Storms. Being a Practical Exposition of the Theory of the Law of Storms, and its uses to Mariners of all Classes in all Parts of the World. Shown by transparent Storm Cards and useful Lessons. 7th Edition. Demy 8vo, cloth. 10s. 6d.

PLATTS (J. T., Hon. M.A. (Oxon.)). A Grammar of the Persian Language. Part I. Accidence. Broad crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

POLLARD (Prof. A. F., M.A.). The History of England: A Study in Political Evolution. With a Chronological Table. F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 33 in the Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 37.

PRAY (Dr). Astigmatic Letters. Printed on Millboard, size 22 by 14 inches. 1s.

PROCEEDINGS OF INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE under the Auspices of the American Society for Judicial Settlement of International Disputes, held at Washington, Dec. 1910. In 1 vol., sewed. 4s. net.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ARISTOTELIAN SOCIETY FOR THE SYSTEMATIC STUDY OF PHILOSOPHY. Old Series—Odd Numbers at various prices. New Series (yearly volumes bound in buckram)—Vols. I.–XI. ready, 10s. 6d. each net.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE OPTICAL CONVENTION, No. 1, 1905. Crown 4to, cloth. 10s. net.

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS OF THE FIFTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF FREE CHRISTIANITY. Held at Berlin, 1910. Edited by C. W. Wendte, D.D., and V. D. Davis, B.A. Medium 8vo, cloth, 9s. 6d. net. Sewed, 8s. 6d. net.

PUNNETT (R. C., B.A.). Lineus. With 4 Plates. 2s. net. *See* Liverpool Marine Biology Memoirs, p. 39.

RÆDER (A.). L'Arbitrage International chez les Hellènes. 4to, sewed. 10s. net. Being Vol. I. of Publications de l'Institut Nobel Norvégien.

RAY (Prof. P. C.). A History of Hindu Chemistry from the Earliest Times to the Middle of the Sixteenth Century A.D. With Sanskrit Texts, Variants, Translation, and Illustrations. Vol. I. 2nd Edition. Revised and Enlarged. Crown 8vo, 10s. 6d. net. Vol. II. Cloth. 10s. 6d. net.

REICH (Dr EMIL), Contributor to "Character and Life." *See* p. 4.

RENAN (E.). On the Influence of the Institutions, Thought, and Culture of Rome on Christianity and the Development of the Catholic Church. Translated by the Rev. Charles Beard. Being the Hibbert Lectures, 1880. 8vo, cloth. 10s. 6d. Cheap Edition (3rd Edition), 3s. 6d.

RENOUF (P. LE PAGE). On the Religion of Ancient Egypt. Hibbert Lectures, 1879. 3rd Edition. 8vo, cloth. 10s. 6d. Cheap Edition, 3s. 6d.

RÉVILLE (Dr A.). On the Native Religions of Mexico and Peru. Translated by the Rev. P. H. Wicksteed. Hibbert Lectures, 1884. 8vo, cloth. 10s. 6d. Cheap Edition, 3s. 6d.

—— **Prolegomena of the History of Religions.** With an Introduction by Prof. F. Max Müller. 8vo, cloth. 6s. *See* Theological Translation Library, Old Series, p. 42.

RÉVILLE (Prof. JEAN). Liberal Christianity: Its Origin, Nature, and Mission. Translated and Edited by Victor Leuliette, A.K.C., B.-ès-L. Crown 8vo, cloth. 3s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 4 in the Crown Theological Library; for list, *see* p. 34.

RHYS (Prof. J.). On the Origin and Growth of Religion as Illustrated by Celtic Heathendom. Hibbert Lectures, 1886. 8vo, cloth. 10s. 6d. Cheap Edition, 3s. 6d.

RIEDEL (Prof. W.) and W. E. CRUM. The Canons of Athanasius of Alexandria, in Arabic, Ethiopic, and Coptic. 21s. net. *See* Text and Translation Society, p. 40.

RIX (HERBERT). Tent and Testament. A Camping Tour in Palestine, with some Notes on Scripture Sites. With 61 Illustrations, Frontispiece, and Maps. Demy 8vo, cloth. 8s. 6d. net.

ROBERTSON (Prof. J. G., M.A.). The Literature of Germany. F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net.; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 65 in Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 38.

ROGET (F. F.). An Introduction to Old French. History, Grammar, Chrestomathy, and Glossary. 2nd Edition. Crown 8vo, cloth. 6s.

—— **First Steps in French History, Literature, and Philology.** For Candidates for the Scotch Leaving Certificate Examinations, the various Universities Local Examinations, and the Army Examinations. 4th Edition. Crown 8vo, cloth. 5s.

RUFFINI (FRANCESCO). Religious Liberty. The Author is Ordinary Professor at the Royal University of Turin. With an Introduction by Prof. J. B. Bury of Cambridge. Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 32 in the Theological Translation Library; *see* p. 41.

RUSSELL (Hon. BERTRAND, F.R.S.). The Problems of Philosophy. F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 40 in Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 38.

SABATIER (Late AUGUSTE). The Doctrine of the Atonement and its Historical Evolution; and Religion and Modern Culture. Translated by Victor Leuliette, A.K.C., B.-ès-L. Cr. 8vo. 4s. net. Forming Vol. 9 in the Crown Theological Library; *see* p. 34.

—— **The Religions of Authority and the Religion of the** Spirit. New impression. Demy 8vo, cloth. 10s. 6d. *See* Theological Translation Library, New Series, p. 41.

SADI. The Gulistan (Rose Garden) of Shaik Sadi of Shiraz. A new Edition of the Persian Text, with a Vocabulary, by F. Johnson. Square royal 8vo, cloth. 15s.

SADLER (Rev. Dr). Prayers for Christian Worship. Crown 8vo, cloth. 3s. 6d.

—— **Closet Prayers, Original and Compiled.** 18mo, cloth. 1s. 6d.

SADLER (GILBERT, M.A., LL.B.). A Short Introduction to the Bible. Crown 8vo, cloth. 2s. 6d. net.

SAGAS OF OLAF TRYGGVASON AND OF HAROLD THE TYRANT. A new translation, well illustrated with drawings by Erik Werenskiold, Christian Krogh, and others of the best Norwegian artists. In small 4to, printed on specially mould-made paper, comprising above 200 pages, bound with linen back and paper sides, done up in box. 12s. 6d. net.

SALEEBY (C. W., M.D., F.R.S.). **Individualism and Collectivism.** Crown 8vo, cloth. 2s.

SAUNDERS (T. BAILEY). **Professor Harnack and his** Oxford Critics. Crown 8vo, cloth. 1s. 6d. net.

SAYCE (Prof. A. H.). **On the Origin and Growth of Religion** as illustrated by the Religion of the Ancient Babylonians. 5th Ed. Hibbert Lectures, 1887. 8vo, cloth. 10s. 6d. Cheap Edition, 3s. 6d.

SCHLOSS (DAVID F.). **Methods of Industrial Remuneration.** 3rd Edition, revised and enlarged. Crown 8vo, cloth. 7s. 6d. Popular Edition. 3s. 6d.

SCHRADER (Prof. E.). **The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the** Old Testament. Translated from the Second Enlarged Edition, with Additions by the Author, and an Introduction by the Rev. Owen C. Whitehouse, M.A. 2 vols. With a Map. 8vo, cloth. 12s. *See* Theological Translation Library, Old Series, p. 42.

SCHREBER (D. G. M.). **Medical Indoor Gymnastics, or a** System of Hygienic Exercises for Home Use, to be practised anywhere, without apparatus or assistance, by young and old of either sex, for the preservation of health and general activity. Revised and Supplemented by Rudolf Graefe, M.D. With a large plate and 45 illustrations in the text. Royal 8vo, cloth. 2s. 6d. net.

SCHROEN (L.). **Seven-Figure Logarithms of Numbers** from 1 to 108,000, and of Sines, Cosines, Tangents, Cotangents to every 10 Seconds of the Quadrant. With a Table of Proportional Parts. By Dr Ludwig Schroen, Director of the Observatory of Jena, etc., etc. 5th Edition, corrected and stereotyped. With a description of the Tables by A. De Morgan, Professor of Mathematics in University College, London. Imp. 8vo, cloth, printed on light green paper. 9s.

SCHUBERT (HANS VON). **History of the Church.** Translated from the Second German Edition. By arrangement with the Author, an Additional Chapter has been added on "Religious Movements in England in the Nineteenth Century," by Miss Alice Gardner, Lecturer and Associate of Newnham College, Cambridge. Demy 8vo, cloth. 10s. 6d. *See* Theological Translation Library, New Series, p. 41.

SCHURMAN (J. GOULD). **Kantian Ethics and the Ethics** of Evolution. 8vo, cloth. 5s.

—— **The Ethical Import of Darwinism.** Crown 8vo, cloth. 5s.

SCHUSTER (ERNEST J.). **The Wife in Ancient and** Modern Times. Crown 8vo, cloth. 4s. 6d. net.

SCOTT (ANDREW). **Lepeophtheirus and Lernea.** With 5 Plates. 2s. net. *See* Liverpool Marine Biology Committee Memoirs on Typical British Marine Plants and Animals, p. 39.

SCOTT (Dr D. H., M.A., F.R.S.). **The Evolution of Plants.** Fully illustrated. F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 9 in the Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 37.

SCOTT (E. F., M.A.). **The Apologetic of the New Testament.** Cr. 8vo, cloth. 4s. 6d. net. *See* Crown Theological Library, p. 35.

SEEBERG (Prof. R., of Berlin). **The Fundamental Truths** of the Christian Religion. Sixteen Lectures delivered before the Students of all Faculties in the University of Berlin. Crown 8vo. 350 pp. 4s. 6d. net. *See* Crown Theological Library, p. 35.

SEGER (HERMAN AUGUST), Collected Writings of. Papers on Manufacture of Pottery. 2 vols. Large 8vo. £3, 3s. net per set.

SELBIE (Principal W. B., M.A.). Nonconformity: Its Origin and Progress. F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 50 in the Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 38.

SEVERUS (Patriarch of Antioch). **The Sixth Book of the** Select Letters of Severus, Patriarch of Antioch, in the Syriac Version of Athanasius of Nisibis. Edited and Translated by E. W. Brooks. Vol. I. (Text), Part 1, and Vol. II. (Translation), Part I. 2 vols. 8vo, cloth. 42s. net. Vol. I. (Text), Part 2, and Vol. II. (Translation), Part 2. 2 vols. 8vo, cloth. 42s. net. *See* Text and Translation Society, p. 40.

SHARPE (HENRY). Britain B.C.: As Described in Classical Writings. With an Inquiry into the positions of the Cassiterides and Thule, and an attempt to ascertain the ancient coast-line of Kent and East Sussex. With Maps. Crown 8vo, cloth. 5s. net.

SHEARMAN (A. T., M.A.). **The Development of Symbolic** Logic. A Critical Historical Study of the Logical Calculus. Crown 8vo, cloth. 5s. net.

SMITH (The Rt. Hon. F. E., K.C., M.P.). **Unionist Policy** and Other Essays. Large 8vo, cloth. 5s. net.

SMITH (L. PEARSALL, M.A.). **The English Language.** F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 45 in the Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 38.

SNELLEN'S OPHTHALMIC TEST TYPES. Best Types for the Determination of the Acuteness of Vision. 14th Edition, considerably augmented and improved. 8vo, sewed. 4s. Single Sheets: E T B, M O V, B D E, Ш Ш Ш, and Large Clock Sheet. 8d. each. Small Clock Sheet and R T V Z. 4d. each.

SNYDER (HARRY, B.Sc.). **Soils and Fertilisers.** 2nd Edition. 8vo. Pages x + 294. 1 Plate, 40 Illustrations. 6s. 6d. net.

SODDY (F., M.A., F.R.S.). **Matter and Energy.** F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 46 in the Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 38.

SODEN (Prof. H. VON, D.D.). **The Books of the New** Testament. Translated by the Rev. J. R. Wilkinson, and edited by Rev. W. D. Morrison, LL.D. Crown 8vo, cloth. 4s. 6d. net. *See* Crown Theological Library, p. 34.

SOLILOQUIES OF ST AUGUSTINE, THE. Translated into English by Rose Elizabeth Cleveland. With Notes and Introduction by the Translator. Small demy 8vo, cloth. 6s. net.

SOMERVILLE (Prof. W., D.Sc.). Agriculture. F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 26 in the Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 37.

SONNTAG (C. O.). A Pocket Flora of Edinburgh and the Surrounding District. A Collection and full Description of all Phanerogamic and the principal Cryptogamic Plants, classified after the Natural System, with an artificial Key and a Glossary of Botanical Terms. By the late C. O. Sonntag. F'cap. 8vo, limp cloth. 3s. 6d. net.

SORENSEN (S., Ph.D.), Compiled by. An Index to the Names in the Mahabharata. With short explanations. Royal 4to, in twelve parts, which are not sold separately, at 7s. 6d. per part net. Parts I. to VI. now ready.

SPEARS (J. R.). Master Mariners. F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 55 in the Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 38.

SPENCER (HERBERT). A System of Synthetic Philosophy—

Vol. I. **First Principles.** With an Appendix and a Portrait. Finally revised. New Edition, large crown 8vo, cloth. 7s. 6d. Specially printed cheap edition, bound in cloth. 2 vols. of 240 pages each. 1s. net per volume. Complete in one volume. 2s. net.

Vols. II. and III. **The Principles of Biology.** 6th Thousand. 8vo, cloth. Revised and greatly enlarged. 2 vols. 18s. each.

Vols. IV. and V. **The Principles of Psychology.** 5th Thousand. 2 vols. 8vo, cloth. 36s.

Vol. VI. **The Principles of Sociology.** Vol. I. Part 1, The Data of Sociology; Part 2, The Inductions of Sociology; Part 3, Domestic Institutions. 4th Thousand, revised and enlarged. 8vo, cloth. 21s.

Vol. VII. **The Principles of Sociology.** Vol. II. Part 4, Ceremonial Institutions; Part 5, Political Institutions. 3rd Thousand. 8vo, cloth. 18s.

Vol. VIII. **The Principles of Sociology.** Vol. III. Part 6, Ecclesiastical Institutions; Part 7, Professional Institutions; Part 8, Industrial Institutions. 2nd Thousand. 8vo, cloth. 16s.

Vol. IX. **The Principles of Ethics.** Vol. I. Part 1, The Data of Ethics; Part 2, The Inductions of Ethics; Part 3, The Ethics of Individual Life. 8vo, cloth. 15s.

Vol. X. **The Principles of Ethics.** Vol. II. Part 4, Justice; Part 5, Negative Beneficence; Part 6, Positive Beneficence; Appendices. Demy 8vo, cloth. 12s. 6d.

—— **A Rejoinder to Professor Weismann.** Sewed. 6d.

—— **Data of Ethics.** Reset uniform with popular edition of "First Principles." Sewed, 2s. 6d. net; cloth, 3s. net.

SPENCER (HERBERT). Descriptive Sociology; or, Groups of Sociological Facts. Compiled and abstracted by Professor D. Duncan of Madras, Dr Richard Scheppig, and James Collier. Folio, boards.

No. 1. **English.** 18s.
No. 2. **Ancient American Races.** 16s.
No. 3. **Lowest Races, Negritto Races, Polynesians.** 18s.
No. 4. **African Races.** 16s.
No. 5. **Asiatic Races.** 18s.
No. 6. **American Races.** 18s.
No. 7. **Hebrews and Phœnicians.** 21s.
No. 8. **The French Civilisation.** 30s.
No. 9. **Chinese.** Compiled and abstracted by E. T. C. Werner, H.M.'s Consular Service, China. 63s.
No. 10. **Greeks: Hellenic Era.** By Rev. Dr J. P. Mahaffy, and Professor W. A. Goligher, Trinity College, Dublin. 21s.

—— **Education: Intellectual, Moral, and Physical.** Popular Edition. Entirely reset. Crown 8vo, cloth. 2s. 6d. Cheap Edition, cloth, 1s. net.

—— **Essays: Scientific, Political, and Speculative.** A new Edition, rearranged, with additional Essays. 3 vols. 8vo, cloth. (Each 10s.) 30s.

—— **Facts and Comments.** Demy 8vo, cloth. 6s.

—— **Justice.** Being Part 4 of the Principles of Ethics. 2nd Thousand. 8vo, cloth. 6s.

—— **Reasons for Dissenting from the Philosophy of M. Comte.** Sewed. 6d.

—— **Social Statics.** Abridged and revised, together with "The Man *v.* The State." 8vo, cloth. 10s.

—— **The Man *versus* The State.** 14th Thousand. Sewed. 1s.

—— **The Study of Sociology.** Library Edition (21st Thousand), with a Postscript. 8vo, cloth. 10s. 6d.

—— **Various Fragments.** Uniform in Library binding. Demy 8vo, cloth. Enlarged Edition. 6s.

STATUTES, THE, OF THE APOSTLES. The hitherto unedited Ethiopic and Arabic Texts, with Translations of Ethiopic, Arabic, and Coptic Texts, by G. Horner, M.A.

STEPHEN (Rev. Canon REGINALD, M.A.). Democracy and Character. Being the Moorhouse Lectures for 1908. Crown 8vo, cloth. 5s.

STERNE (LAURENCE). A Sentimental Journey through France and Italy. With 12 Illustrations faithfully reproduced from water-colour drawings by Everard Hopkins. Ordinary Edition in crown 4to, 10s. 6d. net. Edition de Luxe, limited to 500 copies, in demy 4to, 21s. net.

STILLMAN (THOS. B., M.Sc., Ph.D.). **Engineering Chemistry.** 4th Edition. The 4th edition has been mostly rewritten and altered to incorporate the latest approved methods of chemical testing. Medium 8vo. With 147 Figures in the text. 21s. net.

STOCKER (R. DIMSDALE). **Social Idealism.** Crown 8vo, cloth. 3s. net.

STRACHEY (G. L.). **Landmarks in French Literature.** F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 35 in the Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 37.

TAYLOR (A. CAMERON). **General Sir Alexander Taylor.** A Memoir by his Daughter. 2 vols. Demy 8vo, cloth.

TAYLOR (Rev. Dr J.). **The Massoretic Text and the** Ancient Versions of the Book of Micah. Crown 8vo, cloth. 5s.

TEN SERVICES OF PUBLIC PRAYER, with Special Collects. 8vo, cloth, 3s.; or 32mo, cloth, 1s. 6d.

—— PSALMS AND CANTICLES. 8vo, cloth. 1s. 6d. [cloth. 2s.

—— PSALMS AND CANTICLES, with Anthems. 8vo,

—— SERVICES OF PUBLIC PRAYER, taken in Substance from the Common Prayer for Christian Worship, with a few additional Prayers for particular Days. 8vo, cloth, 2s. 6d.; or 32mo, cloth, 1s.

TENNYSON (ALFRED, LORD). **The Princess: A Medley.** With Six Illustrations beautifully reproduced in colours, and a number in black-and-white, from Original Drawings by Everard Hopkins. Small 4to. 7s. 6d. net.

THOMAS (Rev. J. M. LLOYD). **A Free Catholic Church.** Crown 8vo, cloth. 1s. 6d. net.

THOMSON (J. ARTHUR, M.A., LL.D.). **Introduction to** Science. F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 32 in the Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 37.

—— and Prof. PATRICK GEDDES. **Evolution.** F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 20 in the Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 37.

—— Editor of the Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 37.

THURSTON (E. TEMPLE). **The "Flower of Gloster."** By the well-known Author of "City of Beautiful Nonsense," "Sally Bishop," etc. With six Illustrations faithfully reproduced in colours, and other Illustrations in black-and-white, from drawings by W. R. Dakin. Small 4to, cloth. 7s. 6d. net.

TISCHENDORF (C.). **The New Testament.** Novum Testamentum Græce. 3 vols. 8vo. 70s. net.

TOWER (CHARLES). **Germany of To-day.** F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 71 in Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 38.

TOWER (O. F., Ph.D.). **The Conductivity of Liquids.** 8vo. Pages iv + 190. 20 Illustrations. 6s. 6d. net.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE ROYAL DUBLIN SOCIETY. Issued in parts at various prices.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY, DUBLIN. Vols. I.–XX. 4to. £22, 5s. 6d. Vols. XXI.–XXXI. Various prices.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF EDINBURGH. Issued in parts at various prices. General Index to First Thirty-four Volumes (1783–1888), with History of the Institution. 4to, cloth. 21s.

TRENCKNER (V.). Pali Miscellany. Part I. The Introductory Part of the Milanda Panho, with an English Translation and Notes. 8vo, sewed. 4s.

TRENT (Prof. W. P.) and ERSKINE (Prof. J.). Great Writers of America. F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 52 of the Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 38.

TROELTSCH (Prof. ERNEST, of Jena). **Protestantism and Progress:** The Significance of Protestantism in the Rise of the Modern World. Translated into English by Rev. W. Montgomery, B.D. *See* Crown Theological Library, p. 35.

UPTON (Rev. C. B.). On the Basis of Religious Belief. Hibbert Lectures, 1893. Demy 8vo, cloth. 10s. 6d. Cheap Edition, 3s. 6d.

VEGA. Logarithmic Tables of Numbers and Trigonometrical Functions. Translated from the 40th, or Dr Bremiker's Edition, thoroughly revised and enlarged, by W. L. Fischer, M.A., F.R.S., Fellow of Clare College, Cambridge; Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of St Andrews. 75th Stereotyped Edition. Royal 8vo, cloth. 7s.

VEILED FIGURE, THE, and other Poems. Large post 8vo, buckram, gilt, cover designed by Mr T. Blake Wirgman. 2s. 6d.

VELASQUEZ. Large Spanish Dictionary. Composed from the Dictionaries of the Spanish Academy, Terreros and Salva. Spanish-English and English-Spanish. 1279 pp., triple columns. 2 vols. in 1. Imp. 8vo, cloth. 24s.

VENABLE (T. C., Ph.D.). The Development of the Periodic Law. Small 12mo. Pages viii + 321. Illustrated. 10s. 6d. net.

—— **The Study of the Atom.** 12mo. Pages vi + 290. 8s. 6d. net.

—— and **HOWE. Inorganic Chemistry according to the Periodic Law.** 2nd Edition. *See under* Howe, p. 14.

VINCENT (JACQUES). Vaillante. 2s. 6d. *See* Army Series of French and German Novels, p, 33.

WALFORD (Mrs L. B.). Recollections of a Scottish Novelist. With Portraits and other Illustrations. Demy 8vo, cloth. 10s. 6d. net.

WALLACE (Dr ALFRED RUSSEL). *See* Character and Life, p. 4.

WEDMORE (Sir FREDERICK). Painters and Painting. (Illustrated). F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 63 in Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 38.

WEINEL (**Prof. H.**, of the University of Jena). **St Paul: The** Man and his Work. Translated by Rev. G. A. Bienemann, M.A. Edited by Rev. W. D. Morrison, M.A., LL.D. Demy 8vo, cloth. 10s. 6d. *See* Theological Translation Library, New Series, p. 41.

WEIR (**T. H.**, B.D.). **A Short History of the Hebrew Text** of the Old Testament. By Thomas H. Weir, Assistant to the Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Glasgow. 2nd Edition, with Additions. Crown 8vo, cloth. 6s.

WEISSE (**T. H.**). **A Short Guide to German Idioms: being a** Collection of the Idioms most in use. With Examination Papers. 3rd Edition. Cloth. 2s.

—— **Elements of German.** With a Course of Exercises instructing in Simpler Composition. Crown 8vo, cloth. 3s.

WEIZSÄCKER (**Prof. CARL VON**). **The Apostolic Age.** Translated by James Millar, B.D. Demy 8vo, 2 vols., cloth. Each 10s. 6d. *See* Theological Translation Library, New Series, p. 40.

WELD (**A. G.**). **Glimpses of Tennyson and of Some of his** Friends. With an Appendix by the late Bertram Tennyson. Illustrated with Portraits in photogravure and colour, and with a facsimile of a MS. poem. F'cap. 8vo, art linen. 4s. 6d. net.

WERNER (**A.**) and **G. HUNT. Elementary Lessons in Cape** Dutch (Afrikander Taal). 16mo, cloth. 1s. 6d.

WERNLE (**PAUL**). **The Beginnings of Christianity.** The Author is Professor Extraordinary of Modern Church History at the University of Basel. Revised by the Author, and translated by the Rev. G. A. Bienemann, M.A., and edited, with an Introduction, by the Rev. W. D. Morrison, LL.D. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. per volume. *See* Theological Translation Library, New Series, p. 41.

WHITEHEAD (**A. N.**, Sc.D., F.R.S.). **Introduction to Mathe-**matics. With Diagrams. F'cap. 8vo, cloth, 1s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. Forming Vol. 18 in the Home University Library; for list, *see* p. 37.

WILEY (**HARVEY W.**, A.M., Ph.D.). **Principles and Prac-**tice of Agricultural Chemical Analysis. 3 Vols. 8vo. New Edition in preparation. Vol. I. Soils. Ready. 18s. net. Vol. II. Fertilisers. 20s. net. Vol. III. in active preparation.

WILLIAMS (**The Right Rev. W. L.**, D.C.L.). **A Dictionary** of the New Zealand Language. 4th Edition. Edited by the Right Rev. Bishop W. L. Williams, with numerous additions and corrections. Demy 8vo, cloth. 12s. 6d.

—— **Lessons in Maori.** 3rd Edition. F'cap. 8vo, cloth. 3s.

WIMMER (**R.**, Pastor of Weisweil-am-Rhein in Baden). **My** Struggle for Light: Confessions of a Preacher. Crown 8vo, cloth. 3s. net. *See* Crown Theological Library, p. 34.

WINSTEDT (**E. O.**), Edited by. **Coptic Texts on St Theodore** the General, St Theodore the Eastern, Chamoul and Justus. 21s. net. *See* Text and Translation Society, p. 40.

WOODS (C. E.). The Gospel of Rightness. A Study in Pauline Philosophy. 300 pages, cloth. 5s. net.

WRIGHT (Rev. C. H. H.). Light from Egyptian Papyri on Jewish History before Christ. Crown 8vo, cloth. 3s. net.

WRIGHT (G. H. BATESON, D.D.). The Book of Job. A new critically revised Translation, with Essays on Scansion, Date, etc. 8vo, cloth. 6s.

—— **Was Israel ever in Egypt? or, A Lost Tradition.** 8vo, art linen. 7s. 6d.

WRIGHT (W. ALDIS, LL.D.), Edited by. A Rabbinic Commentary on the Book of Job, contained in a unique MS. at Cambridge. With Translation and Commentary. 21s. net. *See* Text and Translation Society, p. 40.

WUNDT (WILHELM). Outlines of Psychology. Translated, with the co-operation of the Author, by Charles Hubbard Judd, Ph.D., Instructor in the Wesleyan University. 3rd Enlarged Edition. Demy 8vo, cloth. 8s. net.

WYSOR (HENRY, B.S., Assistant Professor of Analytical Chemistry, Lafayette College). Metallurgy. A Condensed Treatise. Demy 8vo, cloth. 12s. 6d. net.

YOUNGHUSBAND (Col. Sir FRANCIS E., K.C.I.E.). Within: Thoughts during Convalescence. 3s. 6d. net.

COMPLETE LIST OF LIBRARIES AND SERIES ARRANGED IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER.

ARMY SERIES OF FRENCH AND GERMAN NOVELS.

Edited, with short Notes, by J. T. W. Perowne, M.A.

This series is equally well adapted for general reading, and for those preparing for the Army, Oxford and Cambridge Certificates, and other Examinations—in fact, for all who wish to keep up or improve their French and German. The notes are as concise as possible, with an occasional etymology or illustration to assist the memory. The books selected being by recent or living authors, are adapted for the study of most modern French and German.

Le Coup de Pistolet, etc. Prosper Merimée. 2s. 6d.

Vaillante. Jacques Vincent. 2s. 6d.

Auf Verlornem Posten and Nazzarena Danti. Johannes v. Dewall. 3s.

Contes Militaires. A. Daudet. 2s. 6d.

Erzählungen. E. Höfer. 3s.

CROWN THEOLOGICAL LIBRARY.

The only undertaking of its kind in the English language; each writer is at liberty to express his deepest convictions with absolute freedom—a freedom which is the only ultimate security of truth.

Vol. I.—**Babel and Bible.** By Dr Friedrich Delitzsch. 4s. 6d. net.

Vol. II.—**The Virgin Birth of Christ.** An Historical and Critical Essay. By Paul Lobstein. 2s. 6d. net.

Vol. III.—**My Struggle for Light.** Confessions of a Preacher. By R. Wimmer. 3s. net.

Vol. IV.—**Liberal Christianity.** Its Origin, Nature, and Mission. By Jean Réville. 3s. 6d. net.

Vol. V.—**What is Christianity?** By Adolf Harnack. 4s. 6d. net.

Vol. VI.—**Faith and Morals.** By W. Herrmann. 4s. 6d. net.

Vol. VII.—**Early Hebrew Story.** A Study of the Origin, the Value, and the Historical Background of the Legends of Israel. By John P. Peters, D.D. 4s. 6d. net.

Vol. VIII.—**Bible Problems and the New Material for their Solution.** By Prof. T. K. Cheyne, D.Litt., D.D. 4s. 6d. net.

Vol. IX.—**The Doctrine of the Atonement and its Historical Evolution,** and **Religion and Modern Culture.** By the late Auguste Sabatier. 4s. net.

Vol. X.—**The Early Christian Conception of Christ.** Its Significance and Value in the History of Religion. By Otto Pfleiderer. 3s. net.

Vol. XI.—**The Child and Religion.** Eleven Essays by Various Writers. 5s. net.

Vol. XII.—**The Evolution of Religion.** An Anthropological Study. By L. R. Farnell, M.A., D.Litt. 4s. 6d. net.

Vol. XIII.—**The Books of the New Testament.** By Baron Hermann von Soden, D.D. 4s. 6d. net.

Vol. XIV.—**Jesus.** By W. Bousset. 3s. 6d. net.

Vol. XV.—**The Communion of the Christian with God.** By W. Herrmann. Revised and much enlarged edition. 4s. 6d. net.

Vol. XVI.—**Hebrew Religion.** To the Establishment of Judaism under Ezra. By W. E. Addis, M.A. 4s. 6d. net.

Vol. XVII.—**Naturalism and Religion.** By Rudolf Otto. 5s. net.

Vol. XVIII.—**Essays on the Social Gospel.** By Dr Adolf Harnack and Dr Herrmann. 4s. net.

Vol. XIX.—**The Religion of the Old Testament.** By Karl Marti. 4s. net.

Vol. XX.—**Luke the Physician.** Being Volume One of Dr Adolf Harnack's New Testament Studies. 5s. net.

Vol. XXI.—**The Historical Evidence for the Resurrection of Jesus Christ.** By Prof. Kirsopp Lake. 4s. 6d. net.

Crown Theological Library—*continued.*

Vol. XXII.—**The Apologetic of the New Testament.** By E. F. Scott. 4s. 6d. net.

Vol. XXIII.—**The Sayings of Jesus.** Being Volume Two of Dr Adolf Harnack's New Testament Studies. 5s. net.

Vol. XXIV.—**Anglican Liberalism.** By Twelve Churchmen. 4s. 6d. net.

Vol. XXV.—**The Fundamental Truths of the Christian Religion.** By Dr R. Seeberg. 4s. 6d. net.

Vol. XXVI.—**The Life of the Spirit.** An Introduction to Philosophy. By Dr Rudolf Eucken. 4s. 6d. net.

Vol. XXVII.—**The Acts of the Apostles.** Being Volume Three of Dr Adolf Harnack's New Testament Studies. 5s. net.

Vol. XXVIII.—**Monasticism and the Confessions of St Augustine.** By Dr Adolf Harnack. 3s. 6d. net.

Vol. XXIX.—**Modernity and the Churches.** By Prof. Percy Gardner. 4s. 6d. net.

Vol. XXX.—**The Old Egyptian Faith.** By Prof. Edouard Naville. Illustrated. 4s. 6d. net.

Vol. XXXI.—**The Constitution and Law of the Church in the First Two Centuries.** By Dr Adolf Harnack. 5s. net.

Vol. XXXII.—**The Scientific Study of the Old Testament.** Illustrated. By Dr Rudolf Kittel. 5s. net.

Vol. XXXIII.—**The Date of the Acts and of the Synoptic Gospels.** Being Volume Four of Dr Adolf Harnack's New Testament Studies. Cloth. 5s. net.

Vol. XXXIV.—**The Religious Experience of St Paul.** By Prof. Percy Gardner. 5s. net.

Vol. XXXV.—**Pharisaism: Its Aims and its Methods.** By R. Travers Herford, B.A. Cloth. 5s. net.

Vol. XXXVI.—**Bible Reading in the Early Church.** Being Volume Five of Dr Adolf Harnack's New Testament Studies. Cloth. 5s. net.

Vol. XXXVII.—**Protestantism and Progress.** By Prof. Ernest Troeltsch of Jena. Cloth. 3s. 6d. net.

Descriptive Prospectus on Application.

THE HIBBERT LECTURES.

Library Edition, demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. per volume.
Cheap Popular Edition, 3s. 6d. per volume.

Alviella (Count Goblet D'). **Lectures on the Origin and** the Growth of the Conception of God, as illustrated by Anthropology and History. Translated by the Rev. P. H. Wicksteed. (Hibbert Lectures, 1891.) Cloth. 10s. 6d. Cheap Edition, 3s. 6d.

Beard (Rev. Dr C.). **Lectures on the Reformation of the** Sixteenth Century in its Relation to Modern Thought and Knowledge. (Hibbert Lectures, 1883.) 8vo, cloth. 10s. 6d. Cheap Edition, 3s. 6d.

The Hibbert Lectures—*continued.*

Davids (T. W. Rhys). **Lectures on Some Points in the** History of Indian Buddhism. (Hibbert Lectures, 1881.) 2nd Edition. 8vo, cloth. 10s. 6d. Cheap Edition, 3s. 6d.

Drummond (Dr). **Via, Veritas, Vita.** Lectures on Christianity in its most Simple and Intelligible Form. (The Hibbert Lectures, 1894.) 10s. 6d. Cheap Edition, 3s. 6d.

Hatch (Rev. Dr). **Lectures on the Influence of Greek** Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church. Edited by Dr Fairbairn. (Hibbert Lectures, 1888.) 3rd Edition. 8vo, cloth. 10s. 6d. Cheap Edition, 3s. 6d.

Kuenen (Dr A.). **Lectures on National Religions and** Universal Religion. (The Hibbert Lectures, 1882.) 8vo, cloth. 10s. 6d. Cheap Edition, 3s. 6d.

Montefiore (C. G.). **Origin and Growth of Religion** as Illustrated by the Religion of the Ancient Hebrews. (The Hibbert Lectures, 1892.) 2nd Edition. 8vo, cloth. 10s. 6d. Cheap Edition, 3s. 6d.

Pfleiderer (Dr O.). **Lectures on the Influence of the** Apostle Paul on the Development of Christianity. Translated by the Rev. J. Frederick Smith. (Hibbert Lectures, 1885.) 2nd Edition. 8vo, cloth. 10s. 6d. Cheap Edition, 3s. 6d.

Renan (E.). **On the Influence of the Institutions,** Thoughts and Culture of Rome on Christianity, and the Development of the Catholic Church. Trans. by the Rev. Charles Beard. (Hibbert Lectures, 1880.) 8vo, cloth. 10s. 6d. Cheap Ed., 3rd Ed., 3s. 6d.

Renouf (P. Le Page). **On the Religion of Ancient** Egypt. (Hibbert Lectures, 1879.) 3rd Edition. 8vo, cloth. 10s. 6d. Cheap Edition, 3s. 6d.

Rhys (Prof. J.). **On the Origin and Growth of Religion** as Illustrated by Celtic Heathendom. (Hibbert Lectures, 1886.) 8vo, cloth. 10s. 6d. Cheap Edition, 3s. 6d.

Réville (Dr A.). **On the Native Religions of Mexico** and Peru. Translated by the Rev. P. H. Wicksteed. (Hibbert Lectures, 1884.) 8vo, cloth. 10s. 6d. Cheap Edition, 3s. 6d.

Sayce (Prof. A. H.). **On the Religion of Ancient Assyria** and Babylonia. 4th Edition. (Hibbert Lectures, 1887.) 8vo, cloth. 10s. 6d. Cheap Edition, 3s. 6d.

Upton (Rev. C. B.). **On the Bases of Religious Belief.** (Hibbert Lectures, 1893.) Demy 8vo, cloth. 10s. 6d. Cheap Edition, 3s. 6d.

Second Series.

Farnell (L. R., D.Litt., Wilde Lecturer in the University of Oxford). The Higher Aspects of Greek Religion. Lectures delivered in Oxford and London in 1911. Demy 8vo, cloth. 6s. net.

HOME UNIVERSITY LIBRARY OF MODERN KNOWLEDGE.

Editors: Prof. Gilbert Murray, D.Litt., LL.D., F.B.A., Herbert Fisher, M.A., F.B.A., LL.D., Professor J. Arthur Thomson, LL.D., and Professor Wm. T. Brewster. Each volume is written by an expert of the very first rank, and consists of 256 pages. Issued bound in cloth at 1s. net, or beautifully bound in leather, levant morocco grain, 2s. 6d. net.

Sixty Volumes Now Ready.

1. **Parliament.** Sir C. P. Ilbert, K.C.B.
2. **Shakespeare.** John Masefield.
3. **French Revolution.** (With Maps.) Hilaire Belloc, M.A.
4. **History of War and Peace.** G. H. Perris.
5. **Stock Exchange.** F. W. Hirst, M.A.
6. **Irish Nationality.** Mrs J. R. Green.
7. **Modern Geography.** (Illustrated.) Dr M. Newbigin.
8. **Polar Exploration.** (With Maps.) Dr W. S. Bruce.
9. **Evolution of Plants.** (Fully Illustrated.) Dr D. H. Scott, F.R.S.
10. **Socialist Movement.** J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P.
11. **Conservatism.** Lord Hugh Cecil, M.A., M.P.
12. **Opening Up of Africa.** (With Maps.) Sir H. H. Johnston, G.C.M.G.
13. **Mediæval Europe.** (With Maps.) H. W. C. Davis, M.A.
14. **The Papacy and Modern Times.** Rev. Dr W. Barry.
15. **Mohammedanism.** Prof. D. S. Margoliouth.
16. **The Science of Wealth.** J. A. Hobson, M.A.
17. **Health and Disease.** Dr W. L. Mackenzie.
18. **Introduction to Mathematics.** (With Diagrams.) A. N. Whitehead, Sc.D., F.R.S. [F. W. Gamble.
19. **The Animal World.** (With many Illustrations.) Prof.
20. **Evolution.** Prof. J. A. Thomson and Prof. P. Geddes.
21. **Liberalism.** Prof. L. T. Hobhouse.
22. **Crime and Insanity.** Dr C. A. Mercier.
23. **History of our Time, 1885-1911.** G. P. Gooch, M.A.
24. **The Evolution of Industry.** Prof. D. H. MacGregor.
25. **The Civilisation of China.** Prof. H. A. Giles, LL.D.
26. **Agriculture.** Prof. W. Somerville, D.Sc.
27. **English Literature: Modern.** George Mair, M.A.
28. **Psychical Research.** Sir W. F. Barrett, F.R.S.
29. **The Dawn of History.** Prof. J. L. Myers.
30. **Elements of English Law.** Prof. W. M. Geldart, B.C.L.
31. **Astronomy.** A. R. Hinks, M.A. [M.A.
32. **The Introduction to Science.** Prof. J. Arthur Thomson,
33. **The History of England:** A Study in Political Evolution.
34. **Canada.** A. G. Bradley. [Prof. A. F. Pollard.
35. **Landmarks in French Literature.** G. L. Strachey.
36. **Climate and Weather.** (With Diagrams.) Prof. H. N. Dickson, D.Sc.

Home University Library of Modern Knowledge—*continued.*

37. **Peoples and Problems of India.** Sir T. W. Holderness, K.C.S.I. [Prof. J. J. Findlay.
38. **The School.** An Introduction to the Study of Education.
39. **Architecture.** (Over 40 Illustrations.) Prof. W. R. Lethaby.
40. **Problems of Philosophy.** The Hon. Bertrand Russell,
41. **Anthropology.** R. R. Marett, M.A. [F.R.S.
42. **Rome.** W. Warde-Fowler, M.A.
43. **English Literature: Mediæval.** Prof. W. P. Ker.
44. **Principles of Physiology.** Prof. J. G. M'Kendrick.
45. **The English Language.** J. Pearsall Smith, M.A.
46. **Matter and Energy.** F. Soddy, F.R.S.
47. **Buddhism.** Mrs Rhys Davids.
48. **The American Civil War.** (Maps.) Prof. F. L. Paxson.
49. **Psychology.** The Study of Behaviour. Prof. W. McDougall. [W. B. Selbie.
50. **Nonconformity,** Its Origin and Progress. Principal
51. **Warfare in England.** (With Maps.) Hilaire Belloc, M.A.
52. **Great Writers of America.** Profs. W. P. Trent and J. Erskine. [Prof. J. W. Gregory, F.R.S.
53. **The Making of the Earth.** (With 38 Maps and Figures.)
54. **Ethics.** G. E. Moore, M.A.
55. **Master Mariners.** J. R. Spears. [LL.D., D.D.
56. **Making of the New Testament.** Prof. B. W. Bacon,
57. **The Human Body** (Illustrated). Prof. Arthur Keith, M.D., F.R.C.S. [M.I.E.E.
58. **Electricity** (Illustrated). Dr Gisbert Kapp, D.Eng.,
59. **Political Economy.** Prof. S. J. Chapman, M.A.
60. **Missions:** Their Rise and Development. Mrs Creighton.
61. **Napoleon.** (Maps.) Herbert Fisher, M.A., F.B.A.
62. **The Origin and Nature of Life.** Prof. Benjamin Moore
63. **Painters and Painting.** (Illus.) Sir Frederick Wedmore.
64. **Dr Johnson and his Circle.** John Bailey, M.A.
65. **The Literature of Germany.** Prof. J. G. Robertson, M.A., Ph.D.
66. **The Navy and Sea Power.** David Hannay.
67. **Chemistry.** Prof. Raphael Meldola, D.Sc., LL.D.
68. **Comparative Religion.** Prof. J. Estlin Carpenter, LL.D.
69. **The Newspaper.** (Illus.) G. Binney Dibblee.
70. **The Victorian Age in Literature.** G. K. Chesterton.
71. **Germany of To-day.** By Charles Tower.
72. **Plant Life.** (Illustrated.) By Prof. J. B. Farmer, F.R.S.
73. **The Writing of English.** By Prof. W. T. Brewster.
74. **A History of Freedom of Thought.** By Prof. J. B. Bury, Litt.D.
75. **Ancient Art and Ritual.** By Jane Harrison, LL.D., D.Litt.

A Detailed List, containing Particulars of more than One Hundred Volumes, to be had on application.

LIVERPOOL MARINE BIOLOGY COMMITTEE. MEMOIRS ON TYPICAL BRITISH MARINE PLANTS AND ANIMALS.

Edited by W. A. Herdman, D.Sc., F.R.S. All demy 8vo, stiff boards.

1. **Ascidia.** By W. A. Herdman. With 5 Plates. 2s. net.
2. **Cardium.** By J. Johnstone, Fisheries Assistant, University College, Liverpool. With 7 Plates. 2s. 6d. net.
3. **Echinus.** By Herbert Clifton Chadwick, Curator of the Port Erin Biological Station. With 5 Plates. 2s. net.
4. **Codium.** By R. J. Harvey Gibson, M.A., F.L.S., Professor of Botany in University College, Liverpool, and Helen P. Auld, B.Sc. With 3 Plates. 1s. 6d. net.
5. **Alcyonium.** By Sydney J. Hickson, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S., Beyer Professor of Zoology in Owens College, Manchester. With 3 Plates. 1s. 6d. net.
6. **Lepeophtheirus and Lernea.** By Andrew Scott, Resident Fisheries Assistant at the Peel Hatchery. With 5 Plates. 2s. net.
7. **Lineus.** By R. C. Punnett, B.A. With 4 Plates. 2s. net.
8. **Pleuronectes.** By Frank J. Cole, Jesus College, Oxford, Lecturer in the Victoria University, Demonstrator of Zoology, University, Liverpool, and James Johnstone, B.Sc. Lond., Fisheries Assistant, University, Liverpool. With 11 Plates. 7s. net.
9. **Chondrus.** By Otto V. Darbishire, Owens College, Manchester. With 7 Plates. 2s. 6d. net.
10. **Patella (the Common Limpet).** By J. R. Ainsworth Davis, M.A., Professor of Zoology in the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, and H. J. Fleure, B.Sc., Fellow of the University of Wales. With 4 Plates. 2s. 6d. net.
11. **Arenicola (the Lug-Worm).** By J. H. Ashworth, D.Sc., Lecturer in Invertebrate Zoology in the University of Edinburgh. With 8 Plates. 4s. 6d. net.
12. **Gammarus.** By Margaret Cussans, B.Sc., Zoological Department, University of Liverpool. With 4 Plates. 2s. net.
13. **Anurida.** By A. D. Imms, B.Sc. (Lond.). With 7 Plates. 4s. net.
14. **Ligia.** By C. Gordon Hewitt, B.Sc., Demonstrator in Zoology, University of Manchester. With 4 Plates. 2s. net.
15. **Antedon.** By Herbert Clifton Chadwick. With 7 Plates. 2s. 6d. net.
16. **Cancer.** By Joseph Pearson, M.Sc., Demonstrator in Zoology, University of Liverpool. With 13 Plates. 6s. 6d. net.
17. **Pecton.** By W. J. Dakin, M.Sc. With 9 Plates. 4s. 6d. net.
18. **Eledone.** By Annie Isgrove, M.Sc. With 10 Plates. 4s. 6d. net.
19. **Polychaet Larvae.** By F. H. Gravely, M.Sc. With 4 Plates. 2s. 6d. net.

TEXT AND TRANSLATION SOCIETY. Established for the purpose of editing and translating Oriental Texts chiefly preserved in the British Museum.

The Sixth Book of the Select Letters of Severus, Patriarch of Antioch, in the Syriac Version of Athanasius of Nisibis. Edited and translated by E. W. Brooks, M.A. Vol. I. Text, Parts I. and II. Vol. II. Translation, Parts I. and II. 84s. net.

The Canons of Athanasius of Alexandria, in Arabic, Ethiopic, and Coptic. Edited and translated by Prof. W. Riedel (Griefswald) and W. E. Crum. 21s. net.

A Rabbinic Commentary on the Book of Job, contained in a unique MS. at Cambridge. Edited, with Translation and Commentary, by W. Aldis Wright, LL.D. 21s. net.

An Ancient Armenian Version of the Apocalypse of St John; also **The Armenian Texts of Cyril of Alexandria, Scholia de Incarnatione** and **Epistle to Theodosius upon Easter,** the former incompletely preserved in Greek, the latter unknown in Greek or Latin. All edited, with English versions, etc., by F. C. Conybeare, formerly Fellow of University College, Oxford.

Remnants of the Later Syriac Versions of the Bible. Part I. (Sixth Century). The Four Minor Catholic Epistles. Reconstructed Text, with Apparatus Criticus. Part II. (Seventh Century). Extracts, hitherto unedited, from the Syro-Hexaplar Text of Chronicles, Nehemiah, etc. All edited, with Greek versions, etc., by John Gwynn, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity, Dublin. 21s. net.

Coptic Texts on St Theodore the General, St Theodore the Eastern, Chamoul and Justus. Edited and Translated by E. O. Winstedt, late Senior Demy of Magdalen College, Oxford. 21s. net.

The Refutation of Mani, Marcion, and Bardaisan of St Ephraim. Edited by the Rev. C. W. Mitchell. 21s. net.

Euphemia and the Goth. With the Acts of Martyrdom of the Confessors of Edessa. Edited and Examined by Prof. F. C. Burkitt. 21s. net.

THEOLOGICAL TRANSLATION LIBRARY.

New Series. A Series of Translations by which the best results of recent Theological Investigations on the Continent, conducted without reference to doctrinal considerations, and with the sole purpose of arriving at the truth, are placed within reach of English readers.

Vols. I. and V.—**The Apostolic Age.** By Prof. Carl von Weizsäcker. Translated by James Millar, B.D. 2 vols. 10s. 6d. each.

Vols. II., VII., VIII., IX., X., XI., XII.—**A History of Dogma.** By Adolf Harnack, Berlin. Translated from the Third German Edition. Edited by the late Rev. Prof. A. B. Bruce, D.D. 7 vols. 10s. 6d. each.

Theological Translation Library—*continued.*

Vols. III. and VI.—**A History of the Hebrews.**—By R. Kittel, Ordinary Professor of Theology in the University of Breslau. 10s. 6d. per volume.

Vol. IV.—**The Communion of the Christian with God:** A Discussion in Agreement with the View of Luther. By W. Herrmann, Dr Theol., Professor of Dogmatic Theology in the University of Marburg. 10s. 6d. net.

Vol. XIII.—**An Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the Greek New Testament.** By Prof. Eberhard Nestle, of Maulbronn. Cloth, 10s. 6d.; half leather, 12s. 6d.

Vols. XV. and XVII.—**The Beginnings of Christianity.** By Paul Wernle, Professor Extraordinary of Modern Church History at the University of Basal. Vol. I. The Rise of the Religion. Vol. II. The Development of the Church. 10s. 6d. per volume.

Vol. XVI.—**The Religions of Authority and the Religion of the Spirit.** By the late Auguste Sabatier. 10s. 6d.

Vol. XVIII.—**Christian Life in the Primitive Church.** By Ernst von Dobschütz, D.D., Professor of New Testament Theology in the University of Strassburg. 10s. 6d.

Vols. XIX. and XX.—**The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries.** By Adolf Harnack, Berlin. Second, revised and much enlarged edition, 25s. net. Vols. not sold separately.

Vol. XXI.—**St Paul:** The Man and his Work. By Prof. H. Weinel, of the University of Jena. 10s. 6d.

Vols. XXII., XXVI., XXVII., and XXXI.—**Primitive Christianity:** Its Writings and Teachings in their Historical Connections. By Otto Pfleiderer, Professor of Practical Theology in the University of Berlin. 4 vols. 10s. 6d. each net.

Vol. XXIII.—**The Introduction to the Canonical Books of the Old Testament.** By Carl Cornill, Professor of Old Testament Theology at the University of Breslau. 10s. 6d. net.

Vol. XXIV.—**History of the Church.** By Hans von Schubert, Professor of Church History at Kiel. 10s. 6d. net.

Vol. XXV.—**Ethics of the Christian Life.** By Theodor von Haering, Professor of New Testament Dogmatics and Ethics at Tübingen. 10s. 6d. net.

Vols. XXVIII. and XXIX.—**The Old Testament in the Light of the Ancient East.** By Alfred Jeremias, Pastor of the Lutherkirche, and Lecturer at the University of Leipzig. With numerous illustrations and maps, 25s. net. Vols. not sold separately.

Vol. XXX.—**The Truth of Religion.** By Dr Rudolf Eucken, Senior Professor of Philosophy in the University of Jena. 12s. 6d. net

Vol. XXXII.—**Religious Liberty.** By Prof. Francesco Ruffini. With a Preface to the English Edition by Prof. J. B. Bury of Cambridge. Demy 8vo, cloth. 12s. 6d. net.

THEOLOGICAL TRANSLATION FUND LIBRARY.

Old Series. Uniform Price per Volume, 6s.

Baur (F. C.). Church History of the First Three Centuries. Translated from the Third German Edition. Edited by Rev. Allan Menzies. 2 vols. 8vo, cloth. 12s.

—— **Paul, the Apostle of Jesus Christ, His Life and** Work, His Epistles and Doctrine. A Contribution to a Critical History of Primitive Christianity. Edited by Rev. Allan Menzies. 2nd Edition. 2 vols. 8vo, cloth. 12s.

Ewald's (Dr H.). Commentary on the Prophets of the Old Testament. Trans. by the Rev. J. F. Smith. 5 vols. 8vo, cloth. 30s.

—— **Commentary on the Psalms.** Translated by the Rev. E. Johnson, M.A. 2 vols. 8vo, cloth. 12s.

—— **Commentary on the Book of Job,** with Translation. Translated from the German by the Rev. J. Frederick Smith. 8vo, cloth. 6s.

Hausrath (Prof. A.). History of the New Testament Times. The Time of Jesus. Translated by the Revs. C. T. Poynting and P. Quenzer. 2 vols. 8vo, cloth. 12s.

Keim's History of Jesus of Nazara: Considered in its connection with the National Life of Israel, and related in detail. Translated from the German by Arthur Ransom and the Rev. E. M. Geldart. Complete in 6 vols. 8vo. 36s. (Vol. I. only to be had when a complete set of the work is ordered.)

Kuenen (Dr A.). The Religion of Israel to the Fall of the Jewish State. Trans. from the Dutch by A. H. May. 3 vols. 8vo, cloth. 18s.

Pfleiderer (O.). Paulinism: A Contribution to the History of Primitive Christian Theology. Translated by E. Peters. 2nd Edition. 2 vols. 8vo, cloth. 12s.

—— **Philosophy of Religion on the Basis of its History.** Translated by Prof. Allan Menzies and the Rev. Alex. Stewart. 4 vols. 8vo, cloth. 24s. (Vol. I. out of print.)

Réville (Dr A.). Prolegomena of the History of Religions. With an Introduction by Prof. F. Max Müller. 8vo, cloth. 6s.

Schrader (Prof. E.). The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament. Translated from the Second Enlarged Edition, with Additions by the Author, and an Introduction by the Rev. Owen C. Whitehouse, M.A. 2 vols. With a Map. 8vo, cloth. 12s.

LIST OF PERIODICALS, REVIEWS, AND TRANSACTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS OF LEARNED SOCIETIES published by Williams & Norgate.

The British Review. With which is incorporated the Oxford and Cambridge Review. Monthly. 1s. net. Postage Inland 3d. Abroad 4d.

List of Periodicals, Reviews, etc.—*continued.*

The Hibbert Journal: A Quarterly Review of Religion, Theology, and Philosophy. Single numbers, 2s. 6d. net. Subscription, 10s. per annum, post free.

Journal of the Federated Malay States Museums. Issued quarterly. Single numbers, 1s. 6d. net. Subscription, 5s. per annum.

Journal of the Royal Microscopical Society, containing its Transactions and Proceedings, with other Microscopical Information. Bi-monthly. 6s. net. Yearly subscriptions, 37s. 6d., post free.

Journal of the Quekett Microscopical Club. Issued half-yearly, April and November. Price 3s. 6d. net. 7s. 6d. per annum, post free.

Linnean Society of London. Journal of Botany and Journal of Zoology. Published irregularly at various prices. Also Transactions, published irregularly.

Royal Society of Edinburgh. Transactions. Issued irregularly at various prices.

Liverpool Marine Biology Committee. Memoirs. I.–XIX. already published at various prices. Fauna of Liverpool Bay. Fifth Report, written by Members of the Commitee and other Naturalists. Cloth. 8s. 6d. net. *See* p. 36.

Publications de l'Institut Nobel Norvégien. Vol. I. L'Arbitrage International chez les Hellènes. Par A. Raedar. 4to. 10s. net. Vol. II. Les Bases Economiques de la Justice Internationale. By Achille Loria. 3s. 6d. net.

Royal Irish Academy. Transactions and Proceedings issued irregularly; prices vary. Cunningham Memoirs. Vols. I.–XI. already issued at various prices. *See* p. 28.

Royal Dublin Society. Transactions and Proceedings. Issued irregularly at various prices.

INDEX OF TITLES.

Acts of the Apostles. Adolf Harnack, 11.
Acts, The Date of the. Adolf Harnack, 11.
Aeroplane, How to Build. Robert Petit, 23.
Africa, The Opening Up of. Sir H. H. Johnston, 14.
Agricultural Chemical Analysis. Wiley, 32.
Agriculture. Prof. W. Somerville, 28.
Alchemy of Thought, and other Essays. Prof. L. P. Jacks, 14.
Alcyonium. *Vide* L.M.B.C. Memoirs, 39.
America, Great Writers of. Trent and Erskine, 7, 31.
American Civil War, The. Prof. F. L. Paxson, 20.
Americans, The. Hugo Münsterberg, 21.
Among the Idolmakers. Prof. L. P. Jacks, 13.
Analysis of Ores. F. C. Phillips, 21.
Analysis, Organic. F. E. Benedict, 2.
Analytical Geometry, Elements of. — Hardy, 11.
Anarchy and Law, Theories of. H. B. Brewster, 3.
Ancient Art and Ritual. Harrison, 12.
Ancient Asia Minor, Wall Map of, 16.
Ancient Assyria, Religion of. Prof. A. H. Sayce, 26.
Ancient Greece, Wall Map of, 16.
Ancient Italy, Wall Map of, 16.
Ancient Latium, Wall Map of, 16.
Ancient World, Wall Maps of the, 15.
Anglican Liberalism, 1.
Animal World, The. Prof. F. W. Gamble, 9.
Antedon. *Vide* L.M.B.C. Memoirs, 39.
Anthems. Rev. R. Crompton Jones, 14.
Anthropology. R. R. Marett, 19.
Antwerp and Brussels, Guide to, 10.
Anurida. *Vide* L.M.B.C. Memoirs, 39.
Apocalypse of St. John, 40.
Apologetic of the New Test. E. F. Scott, 27.
Apostle Paul, the, Lectures on. Otto Pfleiderer, 23.
Apostolic Age, The. Carl von Weizsäcker, 32.
Arabian Poetry, Ancient. Sir C. J. Lyall, 19.
Architecture. Prof. W. R. Lethaby, 18.
Arenicola. *Vide* L.M.B.C. Memoirs, 39.
Aristotelian Society, Proceedings of, 22.
Army Series of French and German Novels, 33.
Ascidia. Johnston, L.M.B.C. Memoirs, 39.
Assyriology, Essay on. George Evans, 8.
Astigmatic Letters. Dr. Pray, 24.
Astronomy. A. R. Hinks, 13.
Athanasius of Alexandria, Canons of, 37.
Atlas Antiquus, Kiepert's, 17.
Atlas, Topographical, of the Spinal Cord. Alex. Bruce, 4.
Atonement, Doctrine of the. Auguste Sabatier, 25.
Auf Verlornem Postem. Dewall, 33.
Avesti, Pahlavi. Persian Studies, 1.

Babel and Bible. Friedrich Delitzsch, 6.
Bacon, Roger. "Opus Majus" of, 2.
Basis of Religious Belief. C. B. Upton, 31.
Beet-Sugar Making. Nikaido, 21.
Beginnings of Christianity. Paul Wernle, 32.
Belgium, Practical Guide to, 10.
Belgium Watering Places, Guide to, 10.
Bergson's Philosophy. Balsillie, 2; Le Roy, 18.
Bible. Translated by Samual Sharpe, 3.
Bible, a Short Introduction to, Sadler, 23; Bible Problems, Prof. T. K. Cheyne, 5; How to Teach the, Rev. A. F. Mitchell, 20; Remnants of Later Syriac Versions of, 37.
Bible Reading in the Early Church. Adolf Harnack, 11.
Biblical Hebrew, Introduction to. Rev. Jas. Kennedy, 16.
Biology, Principles of. Herbert Spencer, 28.
Blaise Pascal. Humfrey R. Jordan, 15.
Book of Prayer. Crompton Jones, 15.
Books of the New Testament. Von Soden, 27.
Britain, B.C. Henry Sharpe, 27.
British Fisheries. J. Johnstone, 14.
Brussels and Antwerp, Guide to, 10.
Buddhism. Mrs. Rhys Davids, 6.

Calculus, Differential and Integral. Axel Harnack, 12.
Canada. A. G. Bradley, 3.
Cancer. *Vide* L.M.B.C. Memoirs, 37.
Cancer and other Tumours. Chas. Creighton, 5.
Canonical Books of the Old Testament. Cornill, 5.
Cape Dutch. J. F. Van Oordt, 22.
Cape Dutch, Werner's Elementary Lessons in, 32.
Capri and Naples, Guide to, 10.
Captain Cartwright and his Labrador Journal, 4.
Cardium. *Vide* L.M.B.C. Memoirs, 39.
Catalogue of the London Library, 17.
Celtic Heathendom. Prof. J. Rhys, 25.
Channing's Complete Works, 4.
Chants and Anthems, 15; Chants, Psalms, and Canticles. Crompton Jones, 15.
Character and Life, 4.
Chemical Dynamics, Studies in. J. H. Van't Hoff, 13.
Chemistry. Prof. Meldola, 20.
Chemistry, Elementary. Emery, 7.
Chemistry for Beginners. Edward Hart, 11.
Chemist's Pocket Manual, 20.
Child and Religion, The, 5.
China, The Civilisation of. Prof. H. A. Giles, 9.
Chinese. Descriptive Sociology. Werner, 27.
Chondrus. *Vide* L.M.B.C. Memoirs, 39.
Christian Life, Ethics of the. Chas. F. Dole, 10.
Christian Life in the Primitive Church. Dobschütz, 7.
Christian Religion, Fundamental Truths of the. R. Seeberg, 25.
Christianity, Beginnings of. Paul Wernle, 32.
Christianity in Talmud and Midrash. R. Travers Herford, 12.
Christianity? What is. Adolf Harnack, 11.
Chromium, Production of. Max Leblanc, 18.
Church History. Baur, 2; Schubert, 24.
Civilisation of China. H. A. Giles, 9.

Climate and Weather. H. N. Dickson, 6.
Closet Prayers. Dr. Sadler, 23.
Codium. *Vide* L.M.B.C. Memoirs, 39.
Collected Writings of Seger, 27.
Colonial Period, The. C. M. Andrews, 1.
Coming Church. Dr. John Hunter, 14.
Commentary on the Book of Job. Ewald, 7; Wright and Hirsch, 30; Commentary on the Old Testament. Ewald, 7; Commentary on the Psalms. Ewald, 7.
Common-Sense Dietetics. C. Louis Leipoldt, 18.
Communion with God. Wilhelm Herrmann, 12.
Comparative Religion. Princ. J. E. Carpenter, 4.
Conception of God. Alviella, 1.
Concrete, Reinforced. Colby, 5.
Conductivity of Liquids. Tower, 30.
Confessions of St. Augustine. Adolf Harnack, 11.
Conservatism. Lord Hugh Cecil, 4.
Constitution and Law of the Church, Adolf Harnack, 11.
Contes Militaires. A. Daudet, 33.
Copenhagen and Norway, Guide to, 10.
Coptic Texts on St. Theodore. E. O. Winstedt, 32.
Crime and Insanity. Dr. C. A. Mercier, 20.
Crown Theological Library, 34.
Cuneiform Inscriptions, The. Prof. E. Schrader, 26.

Date, The, of the Acts and of the Synoptic Gospels. Harnack, 11.
Dawn of History, The. Prof. J. L. Myres, 21.
Delectus Veterum. Theodor Nöldeke, 20.
Democracy and Character. Canon Stephen, 29.
Democracy, Socialism and, in Europe. Samuel P. Orth, 22
De Profundis Clamavi. Dr. John Hunter, 14.
Descriptive Sociology. Herbert Spencer, 26.
Development of the Periodic Law. Venable, 31.
Differential and Integral Calculus, The. Axel Harnack, 11.
Dipavamsa, The. Edited by Oldenberg, 6.
Doctrine of the Atonement. A. Sabatier, 25.
Dogma, History of. Adolf Harnack, 11.
Dolomites, The, Practical Guide to, 10
Dresden and Environs, Guide to, 10.

Early Hebrew Story. John P. Peters, 23.
Early Christian Conception. Otto Pfleiderer, 23.
Echinus. *Vide* L.M.B.C. Memoirs, 36.
Education. Herbert Spencer, 28.
Education and Ethics. Emile Boutroux, 3.
Egyptian Faith, The Old. Edouard Naville, 21.
Egyptian Grammar, Erman's, 7.
Eighth Year, The. Philip Gibbs, 9.
Electric Furnace. H. Moisson, 20.
Electricity. Prof. Gisbert Kapp, 15.
Electrolysis of Water. V. Engelhardt, 7.
Electrolytic Laboratories. Nissenson, 22.
Eledone. *Vide* L.M.B.C. Memoirs, 39.
Elementary, Chemistry. Emery, 6.
Elementary Organic Analysis. F. E. Benedict, 2.
Elements of English Law. W. M. Geldart, 9.
Engineering Chemistry. T. B. Stillman, 30.
England and Germany, 6.
English Language. L. P. Smith, 27.
English Literature, Mediæval. W. P. Ker, 16.
English Literature, Modern. G. H. Mair, 19.
Enoch, Book of. C. Gill, 9.
Ephesian Canonical Writings. Rt. Rev. A. V. Green, 9.
Epitome of Synthetic Philosophy. F. H. Collins, 4.
Erzählungen. Höfer, 33.
Essays on the Social Gospel. Harnack and Herrmann, 11.
Essays. Herbert Spencer, 29.
Ethica. Prof. Simon Laurie, 17.
Ethics, Data of. Herbert Spencer, 28.
Ethics, Education and. Emile Boutroux, 3.
Ethics. G. E. Moore, 21.
Ethics, Principles of. Herbert Spencer, 28.
Ethics of the Christian Life. Prof. T. Haering, 10.
Ethics of Progress, The. Chas. F. Dole, 6.
Ethiopic Grammar. A. Dillmann, 6.
Eucken's Philosophy, An Interpretation of. W. Tudor Jones, 15.
Euphemia and the Goth. Prof. F. C. Burkitt, 4, 40.
Europe, Mediæval. H. W. C. Davis, 6.
Evolution. Thomson and Geddes, 30.
Evolution of Industry. Prof. D. H. Macgregor, 19.
Evolution of Plants. Dr. D. H. Scott, 26.
Evolution of Religion, The. L. R. Farnell, 7.
Exploration, Polar. Dr. W. S. Bruce, 4.

Facts and Comments. Herbert Spencer, 29.
Faith and Morals. W. Herrmann, 11.
Fertilisers, Soil Fertility and. Halligan, 10.
First Principles. Herbert Spencer, 28.
First Three Gospels in Greek. Rev. Canon Colin Campbell, 3.
Flower of Gloster, The. E. Temple Thurston, 30.
Four Gospels as Historical Records, 9.
Free Catholic Church. Rev. J. M. Thomas, 30.
Freedom of Thought. Bury, 4.
Freezing Point, The. Jones, 13.
French Composition. Jas. Boïelle, 3.
French History, First Steps in. F. F. Roget, 23.
French Language, Grammar of. Eugène, 7.
French Literature, Landmarks in. G. L. Strachey, 30.
French Reader. Leon Delbos, 6.
French Revolution, The. Hilaire Belloc, 2.
Fundamental Truths of the Christian Religion. R. Seeberg, 27.

Gammarus. *Vide* L.M.B.C. Memoirs, 37.
Gaul, Wall Map of, 16.
General Language of the Incas of Peru. Sir Clements Markham, 19.
Genesis, Book of, in Hebrew Text. Rev. C. H. H. Wright, 28.
Genesis and Evolution of the Soul. J. O. Bevan, 2.
Genesis, Hebrew Text, 11.
Geography, Modern. Dr. M. Newbigin, 21.
Geometry, Analytical, Elements of. Hardy, 11.
German History, Noble Pages from. F. J. Gould, 10.

German Idioms, Short Guide to. T. H. Weisse, 30.
German Literature, A Short Sketch of. V. Phillipps, B.A., 23.
Germany, England and, 6.
Germany of To-day. Tower, 30.
Germany, The Literature of. Prof. J. G. Robertson, 25.
Glimpses of Tennyson. A. G. Weld, 32.
God and Life. Dr. John Hunter, 14.
Gospel of Rightness. C. E. Woods, 33.
Gospels in Greek, First Three. Rev. Colin Campbell, 4.
Grammar, Egyptian. Erman, 7.
Grammar, Ethiopic. A. Dillman, 6.
Greek-English Dictionary, Modern, 17.
Greek Ideas, Lectures on. Rev. Dr. Hatch, 11.
Greek, New Testament. Prof. Edouard Nestle, 19.
Greek Religion, Higher Aspects of. L. R. Farnell, 8.
Greeks: Hellenic Era, 27.
Grieben's English Guides, 9.
Gulistan, The (Rose Garden) of Shaik Sadi of Shiraz, 23.
Gymnastics, Medical Indoor. Dr. Schreber, 24.

Harnack and his Oxford Critics. T. B. Saunders, 26.
Health and Disease. Dr. W. L. Mackenzie, 19.
Hebrew, New School of Poets, 20.
Hebrew Religion. W. E. Addis, 1.
Hebrew Story. John P. Peters, 23.
Hebrew Synonyms, Studies in. Rev. J. Kennedy, 16.
Hebrew Texts, 12.
Hellenistic Greeks. Mahaffy and Goligher, 27.
Herbaceous Garden, The. Mrs. A. Martineau, 20.
Heredity in Relation to Eugenics. C. B. Davenport, 6.
Hibbert Journal Supplement for 1909, entitled: Jesus or Christ? 13.
Hibbert Journal, The, 13.
Hibbert Lectures, 35.
Highways and Byways in Literature. H. Farrie, 8.
Hindu Chemistry. Prof. P. C. Ray, 24.
Historical Evidence for the Resurrection. Kirsopp Lake, 17.
History of Dogma. Adolf Harnack, 11.
History of England. A. F. Pollard, 23.
History of Jesus of Nazara. Keim, 14.
History of Our Time. G. P. Gooch, 9.
History of Sacerdotal Celibacy. H. C. Lea, 17.
History of War and Peace. Perris, 22.
History of the Church. Hans von Schubert, 26.
History of the Hebrews. R. Kittel, 17.
History of the Literature of the O.T. E. Kautzsch, 16.
History of the New Test. Times. A. Hausrath, 11.
Holland, Practical Guide to, 10.
Home University Library of Modern Knowledge, 37.
Horse, Life-Size Models of. J. T. Share-Jones, 13; the, Surgical Anatomy of, 13.
House of Commons, The, from Within. Rt. Hon. R. Farquharson, 8.
How to Teach the Bible. Rev. A. F. Mitchell, 20.
Human Body, The. Prof. Arthur Keith, 16.
Hygiene, Handbook of. D. G. Bergey, 2.
Hymns of Duty and Faith. R. Crompton Jones, 15.

Idolmakers, Among the. Prof. L. P. Jacks, 14.
Immortality, Some Intimations of. Rt. Hon. Sir E. Fry, 9.
Incarnate Purpose, The. G. H. Percival, 21.
India, Peoples and Problems of. Sir T. W. Holderness, 13.
Indian Buddhism. Rhys Davids, 6.
Individual Soul, Genesis and Evolution of. J. O. Bevan, 2.
Individualism and Collectivism. Dr. C. W. Saleeby, 26.
Indoor Gymnastics, Medical. Dr. Schreber, 26.
Industrial Remuneration, Methods of. David F. Schloss, 26.
Infinitesimals and Limits. Hardy, 11.
Influence of Greek Ideas upon the Christian Church. Rev. Dr. Hatch, 12.
Influence of Rome on Christianity. E. Renan, 24.
Initiation into Philosophy. Emile Faguet, 6.
Inorganic Chemistry. J. L. Howe, 14.
Inorganic Qualitative Chemical Analysis. Leavenworth, 18.
Interpretation of Rudolf Eucken's Philosophy. W. Tudor Jones, 15.
Introduction to Biblical Hebrew. Rev. J. Kennedy, 16.
Introduction to the Greek New Test. Prof. E. Nestle, 21.
Introduction to the Old Test. Prof. Carl Cornill, 5, 39.
Introduction to the Preparation of Organic Compounds. Emil Fischer, 8.
Introduction to Science. Prof. J. A. Thomson, 30.
Irish Nationality. Mrs. J. R. Green, 10.
Isaiah, Hebrew Text, 11.

Jesus. Wilhelm Bousset, 3.
Jesus of Nazara. Keim, 16.
Jesus or Christ? The Hibbert Journal Supplement for 1909, 11.
Jesus, Sayings of. Adolf Harnack, 11.
Job. Hebrew Text, 11.
Job, Book of. G. H. Bateson Wright, 30.
Job, Book of. Rabbinic Commentary on, 30.
Johnson, Dr., and His Circle. John Bailey, 13.
Journal of the Federated Malay States, 40.
Journal of the Linnean Society. Botany and Zoology, 15.
Journal of the Quekett Microscopical Club, 15.
Journal of the Royal Microscopical Society, 15.
Justice. Herbert Spencer, 29.

Kantian Ethics. J. G. Schurman, 26.
Kea, The. George R. Marriner, 19.
Kiepert's New Atlas Antiquus, 15.

Kiepert's Wall-Maps of the Ancient World, 15.
Kindergarten, The. H. Goldammer, 9.
King, The, to His People, 17.
Kingdom, The, Mineral. Dr. Reinhard Brauns, 3.

Laboratory Experiments. Noyes and Mulliken, 20.
Lakes of Northern Italy, Guide to, 10.
Landmarks in French Literature. G. L. Strachey, 30.
Latter Day Saints, The. Ruth and R. W. Kauffman, 15.
Law, English, Elements of. W. M. Geldart, 9.
Lays of Ancient Rome. Macaulay, 19.
Leabhar Na H-Uidhri, 41.
Le Coup de Pistolet. Merimée, 33.
Lepeophtheirus and Lernea. *Vide* L.M.B.C. Memoirs, 39.
Letter to the "Preussische Jahrbücher." Adolf Harnack, 11.
Les Misérables. Victor Hugo, 14.
Liberal Christianity. Jean Réville, 24.
Liberalism. Prof. L. T. Hobhouse, 13.
Life and Matter. Sir O. Lodge, 18.
Life of the Spirit, The. Rudolf Eucken, 7.
Ligia. *Vide* L.M.B.C. Memoirs, 39.
Lineus. *Vide* L.M.B.C. Memoirs, 39.
Linnean Society of London, Journals of, 15.
Literature, English Mediæval. Prof. W. P. Ker, 16.
Literature, Highways and Byways in. Hugh Farrie, 8.
Literature of Germany. Prof. J. G. Robertson, 25.
Literature of the Old Testament. Kautzsch, 16.
Literature, The Victorian Age in. G. K. Chesterton, 4.
Liverpool Marine Biology Committee Memoirs, 39.
Liverpool Marine Biology Committee Memoirs, I.—XVII., 36, 37.
Logarithmic Tables. Schroen, 26.
London Library, Catalogue of, 18.
London Library Subject Index, 18.
Luke the Physician. Adolf Harnack, 11.

Mad Shepherds, and other Studies. Prof. L. P. Jacks, 14.
Mahabharata, Index to. S. Sorensen, 28.
Making a Newspaper. John L. Given, 9.
Making of the Earth. Prof. J. W. Gregory, 10.
Making of the New Testament. Prof. B. W. Bacon, 1.
Man and the Bible. J. A. Picton, 23.
Man *versus* the State. Herbert Spencer, 29.
Man's Origin, Destiny, and Duty. Hugh M'Coll, 19.
Maori, Lessons in. Right Rev. W. L. Williams, 30.
Maori, New and Complete Manual of. Williams, 30.
Marine Zoology of Okhamandal. Hornell, 14.
Massoretic Text. Rev. Dr. J. Taylor, 30.
Master Mariners. J. R. Spears, 28.
Mathematics, Introduction to. A. N. Whitehead, 32.
Matter and Energy. F. Soddy, 27.
Mediæval Europe. H. W. C. Davis, 6.
Metallic Objects, Production of. Dr. W. Pfanhauser, 23.
Metallurgy. Wysor, 31.
Metaphysica Nova et Vetusta. Prof. Simon Laurie, 17.
Midrash, Christianity in. Travers Herford, 12.
Milando Panho, The. Edited by V. Trenckner, 20.
Mineral Kingdom, The. Dr. R. Brauns, 3.
Mission and Expansion of Christianity. Adolf Harnack, 11.
Missions. Mrs. Creighton, 5.
Modern Greek-English Dictionary. A. Kyriakides, 16.
Modern Materialism. Rev. Dr. James Martineau, 18.
Modernity and the Churches. Percy Gardner, 9.
Mohammedanism. Prof. D. S. Margoliouth, 19.
Molecular Weights, Methods of Determining. Henry Biltz, 3.
Monasticism. Adolf Harnack, 11.
Moorhouse Lectures. *Vide* Mercer's Soul of Progress, 18; Stephen, Democracy and Character, 27.
Mormons, The. R. W. and Ruth Kauffman, 15.
Munich and Environs, Guide to, 10.
My Life, Some Pages of. Bishop Boyd Carpenter, 4.
My Struggle for Light. R. Wimmer, 32.
Mystery of Newman. Henri Bremond, 3.

Naples and Capri, Guide to, 10.
Napoleon. H. A. L. Fisher, 9.
National Idealism and State Church, 5; and the Book of Common Prayer, 5. Dr. Stanton Coit.
National Religions and Universal Religion. Dr A. Kuenen, 33.
Native Religions of Mexico and Peru. Dr. A Réville, 24.
Naturalism and Religion. Dr. Rudolf Otto, 22.
Nautical Terms. L. Delbos, 6.
Navy, The, and Sea Power. David Hannay, 11.
Nervation of Plants. Francis Heath, 12.
New Hebrew School of Poets. Edited by H. Brody and K. Albrecht, 20.
New Testament, Making of. Prof. B. W. Bacon, 1.
New Zealand Language, Dictionary of. Rt. Rev. W. L. Williams, 32.
Newman, Mystery of. Henri Bremond, 3.
Newspaper, Making a. John L. Given, 9.
Newspaper, The. G. Binney Dibblee, 6.
Nibelungenlied. Trans. W. L. Lettsom, 20.
Noble Pages from German History. F. J. Gould, 9.
Nonconformity. Its Origin, etc. Principal W. B. Selbie, 27.
North Sea Watering-Places, Guide to, 10.
Norway and Copenhagen, Practical Guide to, 10.
Norwegian Sagas translated into English, 23.
Notre Dame de Paris. Victor Hugo, 14.
Nuremberg and Rothenburg, Guide to, 10.

Old French, Introduction to. F. F. Roget, 23.
Ostend, Guide to, 10.
Old Syriac Gospels. Mrs. A. Smith Lewis, 18.
Old Testament in the Light of the East. Jeremias, 14.
Old Testament, Canonical Books of. Cornill, 5.
Old Testament, Prophets of. Ewald, 8.

Old World, The, Wall Map of, 16.
Ophthalmic Test Types. Snellen's, 25.
Optical Rotating Power. Hans Landolt, 17.
"Opus Majus" of Roger Bacon, 2.
Organic Analysis. Benedict, 2,
Organic Chemistry. A. A. Noyes, 20.
Organic Compounds. Emil Fischer, 8.
Origin and Growth of Religion. C. G. Montefiore, 21.
Origin and Nature of Life. Prof. Benjamin Moore, 21.
Outlines of Church History. Von Schubert, 24.
Outlines of Psychology. Wilhelm Wundt, 31.

Pages of my Life, Some. Bishop Boyd Carpenter, 4.
Pacific, The, Problems of. Frank Fox, 9.
Painters and Painting. Sir Fredk. Wedmore, 31.
Pali, Handbook of. Dr. O. Frankfürter, 35.
Pali Miscellany. V. Trenckner, 31.
Papacy and Modern Times. Rev. Dr. Wm. Barry, 2.
Parliament, In and Out of. Rt. Hon. R. Farquharson, 8.
Parliament, Its History, Constitution, and Practice. Olbert, 4.
Pascal, Blaise. H. R. Jordan, 14.
Patella. *Vide* L.M.B.C. Memoirs, 1, 39.
Paul. Baur, 2; Weinel, 32.
Paulinism. Otto Pfleiderer, 23.
Pecton. *Vide* L.M.B.C. Memoirs, 37.
Persian Empire, Wall Map of, 16.
Persian Language, A Grammar of. J. T. Platts, 23.
Personal and Family Prayers, 23.
Pharisaism. R. Travers Herford, 12.
Philo Judæus. Dr. Drummond, 7.
Philosophy, a New. Edouard Le Roy, 18.
Philosophy, Initiation into. Emile Faguet, 6.
Philosophy and Experience. Hodgson, 29.
Philosophy of Religion. Otto Pfleiderer, 23.
Plant Life. Farmer, 8.
Plants, Nervation of. Francis Heath, 12.
Pleuronectes. *Vide* L.M.B.C. Memoirs, 39.
Pocket Flora of Edinburgh. C. O. Sonntag, 28.
Polar Exploration. Dr. W. S. Bruce, 4.
Political Economy, Elements of. Prof. S. J. Chapman, 4.
Polychaet Larvae. *Vide* L.M.B.C. Memoirs, 39.
Portland Cement. Richard K. Meade, 20.
Prayers for Christian Worship. Sadler, 25.
Prehistoric Times. Lord Avebury, 1.
Primitive Christianity. Otto Pfleiderer, 23.
Princess, The. Alfred, Lord Tennyson, 30.
Principles of Physiology. Prof. J. G. MacKendrick, 19.
Printing at Brescia. R. A. Peddie, 22.
Prison, The. H. B. Brewster, 3.
Problems of Philosophy. Hon. Bertrand Russell, 25.
Problems of the Pacific. Frank Fox, 9.
Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society, 24.
Proceedings of the Optical Convention, 24.
Prolegomena. Dr. A. Réville, 24.
Protestant Commentary on the New Testament, 8, 23.
Protestantism and Progress. Ernest Troeltsch, 31.
Psalms, Commentary on. Ewald, 8.
Psalms, Hebrew Text, 12.
Psychical Research. Sir W. F. Barrett, 2.
Psychology. Prof. W. MacDougall, 19.
Psychology, Principles of, Spencer, 28; Outlines of, Wundt, 33.
Public Schools and the Empire. Rev. Dr. H. B. Gray, 10.

Qualitative Analysis, Notes on. Prof. W. P. Mason, 20.
Quest, The. Dorothea Hollins, 13.

Reasons for Dissenting from the Philosophy of M. Comte. Herbert Spencer, 29.
Recollections of a Scottish Novelist. Mrs. L. B. Walford, 31.
Reconstruction and Union. Paul Leland Haworth, 12.
Reformation of the Sixteenth Century. Rev. Dr. C. Beard, 2.
Refutations of Mani. Marcion, and Bardaisan. Rev. C. W. Mitchell, 20, 40.
Reinforced Concrete in Europe. Colby, 5.
Rejoinder to Prof. Weismann, 28.
Relation between Ethics and Religion. Rev. Dr. James Martineau, 20.
Religion and Modern Culture. Auguste Sabatier, 25.
Religion, Comparative. Princ. J. E. Carpenter, 4.
Religion, Evolution of. L. R. Farnell, 8.
Religion, Truth of. Rudolf Eucken, 7.
Religion of Ancient Egypt. Renouf, 24.
Religion of the Ancient Hebrews. C. G. Montefiore, 21.
Religion of Israel. Kuenen, 17.
Religion of the Old Testament. Marti, 19.
Religions of Ancient Babylonia and Assyria, Prof. A. H. Sayce, 26.
Religions of Authority and the Spirit. Auguste Sabatier, 25.
Religious Experience of St. Paul. Prof. P. Gardner, 9.
Religious Liberty. Professor Ruffini, 25.
Resurrection of Jesus Christ. Lake, 17; R. W. Macan, 19.
Revolution, The French. Hilaire Belloc, 2.
Rhine, The, Guide to, 10.
Ring of Pope Xystus, 5.
Riviera, The, Practical Guide to, 10.
Rock Gardens. L. B. Meredith, 20.
Roman Empire, Wall Map of, 16.
Rome. W. Warde Fowler, 9.
Rothenberg and Nuremberg, Guide to, 10.
Royal Dublin Society. Transactions and Proceedings, 30, 43.
Royal Irish Academy. Transactions and Proceeding, 31, 43.
Royal Society of Edinburgh. Transactions of, 31, 43.

Sacerdotal Celibacy. Henry Chas. Lea, 17.
Sadi. The Gulistan (Rose Garden) of Shaik Sadi of Shiraz, 25.
Sagas of Olaf Tryggvason and Harold the Tyrant, 25.
Sailors' Horn Book. H. Piddington, 23.
Sayings of Jesus, The. Adolf Harnack, 11.
School Teaching and School Reform. Sir O. Lodge, 18.
School, The. Prof. J. J. Findlay, 8.
Shakespeare. John Masefield, 20.
Science of Wealth. J. A. Hobson, 13.
Science, Matter, and Immortality. R. C. Macfie, 19.
Scientific Study of the Old Testament. R. Kittel, 17.
Seasons, The; An Anthology. H. and L. Melville, 20.
Second Year Chemistry. Edward Hart, 12.
Seeds and Fruits, Studies in. H. B. Guppy, 10.
Seger. Collected Writings, 27.
Sentimental Journey. Laurence Sterne, 29.
Seven-Figure Logarithms. L. Schroen, 26.
Severus, Patriarch of Antioch, Letters of, 27.
Short History of the Hebrew Text. T. H. Weir, 32.
Silva Gadelica. Standish H. O'Grady, 22.
Social Gospel, Essays on the, 11.
Social Idealism. R. Dimsdale Stocker, 30.
Social Statics. Herbert Spencer, 29.
Socialism and Democracy in Europe. Samuel P. Orth, 22.
Socialist Movement, The. J. R. MacDonald, 19.
Sociology, Descriptive. Herbert Spencer, 29.
Sociology, Principles of. Herbert Spencer, 28.
Sociology, Study of. Herbert Spencer, 29.
Soil, Fertility, and Fertilisers. Halligan, 10.
Soils. *Vide* Wiley's Agricultural Analysis, 32.
Soils and Fertilisers. Snyder, 27.
Soliloquies of St. Augustine. Cleveland, 27.
Soul of Progress. Bishop Mercer, 20.
Spencer, Herbert, Life and Letters of. D. Duncan, 7.
Spinal Cord, Topographical Atlas of. Alex. Bruce, M.A., etc., 4.
Spirit, The, Life of. Rudolf Eucken, 7.
St. Paul, The Religious Experience of. Prof. P. Gardner, 9.
Statuette, The, and the Background. H. B. Brewster, 3.
Statutes, The, of the Apostles. G. Horner, 29.
Stereochemistry, Elements of. Hantzsch, 11.
Stock Exchange, The. F. W. Hirst, 13.
Storms. H. Piddington, 23.
Studies from the Yale Psychological Laboratory. Edward W. Scripture, Ph.D., 31.
Studies in Seeds and Fruits. H. B. Guppy, 10.
Studies on Northern Mythology. Geo. Stephens, 56.
Study of the Atom. Venable, 31.
Study of the Saviour. Alex. Robinson, 24.
Subject-Index to London Library Catalogue, 54.
Super-Organic Evolution. Dr. Enrique Lluria, 18.
Surgical Anatomy of the Horse. J. T. Share Jones, 46.
Switzerland, Practical Guide to, 10; Winter Sports in, 10.
Symbolic Logic. A. T. Shearman, 27.
Symbolism, Lost Language of. Harold Bayley, 2.
Synoptic Gospels, The Date of the. Adolf Harnack, 11.
Synthetic Philosophy, Epitome of. F. H. Collins, 5.
Syriac Grammar. Theodor Nöldeke, 22. [31.
System of Synthetic Philosophy. Herbert Spencer,

Talmud and Midrash, Christianity in. R. Travers Herford, 12.
Taylor, General Sir Alexander. A Memoir by his Daughter, 30.
Ten Services and Psalms and Canticles, 27.
Ten Services of Public Prayer, 27.
Tent and Testament. Herbert Rix, 25.
Testament, Old. Canonical Books of, 5; Religions of, 19; Cuneiform Inscriptions, 26; Hebrew Text, Weir, 32; Literature, 16.
Testament, The New, Critical Notes on. C. Tischendorf, 30.
Testament Times, New, 12; Acts of the Apostles, 11; Apologetic of, 26; Books of the, 27; Commentary, Protestant, 8; Luke the Physician, 11; Textual Criticism, 21.
Test Types. Pray, 24; Snellen, 27.
Text and Translation Society, Works by, 40.
Theological Translation Library, 40.
Theories of Anarchy and of Law. H. B. Brewster, 3.
Thermometer, History of the. Bolton, 3.
Tourist Guides. Griebens, 10.
Transactions of the Royal Dublin Society, 30.
Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, 31.
Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, 31.
Truth, The, of Religion. Eucken, 7.

Unionist Policy. Rt. Hon. F. E. Smith, 27.
Universal Christ. Rev. Dr. C. Beard, 2.
Universalism Asserted. Rev. Thos. Allin, 1.
Urine Analysis, A Text-Book of. Long, 18.

Vaillante, Vincent, 33.
Various Fragments. Herbert Spencer, 29.
Veiled Figure, The, 31.
Via, Veritas, Vita. Dr. Drummond. 7.
Victorian Age in Literature. G. K. Chesterton, 11.
Virgin Birth of Christ. Paul Lobstein, 18.
Vocabularies of the General Language of the Incas of Peru. Sir Clements Markham, 19.
Vulgate, The. Rev. G. Henslow, 12.

Wall Maps of the Ancient World. Kiepert, 16.
Warfare in England. Hilaire Belloc, 2.
Was Israel ever in Egypt? G. H. B. Wright, 33.
Water, Electrolysis of. Engelhardt, 7.
Weather, Climate and. Prof. H. N. Dickson, 6.
What is Christianity? Adolf Harnack, 11.
Winter Sports in Switzerland, Guide to, 10.
Wife, The, In Ancient and Modern Times. Schuster, 26.
Within, Thoughts during Convalescence. Sir Francis Younghusband, 33.
Women's Suffrage. Helen Blackburn, 3.
World, The Old, Wall Map of, 16.
Writers, Great, of America. Profs. Trent and Erskine, 7, 31.
Writing of English. Brewster, 3.

PRINTED BY
NEILL AND CO., LTD.
EDINBURGH